



[And say My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge—Qur'ân]

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In Memoriam

I

MUHAMMAD BAHĀDUR KHĀN

PLUNGED as we still are in the first poignancy of personal bereavement, it is difficult for us as yet to assess rightly the full measure of the larger public loss sustained by the untimely death of one who had become in his lifetime almost a legendary figure

This intrepid young Pathan warrior, so tragically stricken down in the splendour of his early manhood, so deeply loved, so widely mourned, had more than the characteristic virtues of his virile and valiant race. Nature had endowed him prodigally with dynamic and outstanding qualities of personality, mind and character that held a universal appeal—courage and candour, sincerity, simplicity, a warm and generous humanity, which endeared him to countless men and women of diverse communities and divergent creeds.

His was a magic gift of speech which thrilled the hearts of multitudes with its brilliant eloquence and beauty. His was an undefeatable passion for freedom and a dauntless devotion to the various causes he championed with such untiring zeal. And, rarest of all gifts in any generation or country he had an authentic gift of leadership which, had he lived, time and experience would have enriched and mellowed into an even nobler asset—not only for the service of Islam but also for the greater service of India.

But, men like Bāhādur Khān do not really die. They fulfil their hopes and dreams and ambitions through the innumerable lives they have touched and influenced by their magnetic power and enthusiasm. Many of the world's potentates might well envy the spontaneous tribute of love that was paid to him by thousands upon thousands of his fellow-citizens who followed his bier in a magnificent pageant of grief. That was the greatest of his triumphs. It was his crown of immortality upon earth.

Sarajun Haide

Hyderabad-Deccan,
5th July 1944.

II

MUHAMMAD BAHĀDUR KHĀN

(Recalled Rajab 3rd 1363 H.)

Not him, but our own loss we mourn,
Who, great in soul, with faith endowed,
Could teach men's conscience to be proud
Of Right, through trials calmly borne.

A brave and righteous leader sent
By Providence men's hearts to guide—
Not his the voice of power and pride,
But of great deeds and high intent

In every uttered word his breath
Flashed forth a pure heart's truth as light,
He saw the dawn beyond the night,
And chose the way that conquers death

When God resumes what He bestows,
And hopes he withered in their prime,
As wrecks amid the wrecks of time—
The purpose of His will, who knows?

We know not, all that knowledge lends
Flits like frail shadows on a screen,
Behind, the Master's hand unseen
Shapes every movement to His ends.



30th June 1944

III

THE LATE NAWĀB BAHĀDUR YĀR JUNG

ON Monday the 25th June 1944, was announced the sad and gloomy news of the death of Nawāb Bahādur Yār Jung. The whole of Hyderabad was plunged into sudden grief, and hurried in bewilderment to pay the last tribute to their beloved leader. "Irreplaceable loss" was on the lips of even those who differed from him in their political views.

Bahādur Yār Jung was born in 1905 in a Jagirdar family. He received his early education in different high schools of Hyderabad. As his father died when he was only eighteen years old, he had to look after his estate and Jagir affairs and therefore could not continue his school studies. But he attained proficiency in the Arabic and Persian languages and in Islamic theology under the guidance of the well-known Hyderabad scholar the late Maulānā Shamsī Sāhib. He received further command of the Arabic and Persian languages when he went on pilgrimage to Mecca and on return journey visited various Islamic countries staying there for some time in order to exchange views with the political leaders of these countries. When he returned to Hyderabad, he began his career as an orator. His God-gifted talents and unique masterly command over the language brought him on to the public platform whence he could move his audience to ecstasy or tears. He had such perfect command over the resources of the Urdu language and enjoyed so much public confidence owing to his absolute sincerity and straightforwardness that he could easily suppress whenever required the indignant emotions of an excited mob and hypnotise them by the charm of his soothing words to stand still just as well as he could on other occasions, persuade them to enlist devoutly in the service of their country.

Bahādur Yār Jung was not only an orator, he was a deep thinker, scholar and brilliant commentator of the Qur'ān. His interpretation of the Islamic faith and Islamic politics was largely based on the teachings of Dr Sir Mohd Iqbal. He had also developed his own theory for Hyderabad as a Muslim State. His organising ability was very great. In almost every Taluk of Hyderabad local branches of his Society had established libraries, gathered all youngmen to study the Qur'ān and stimulated the public at large with a sense of political awakening. It goes to his credit that within fourteen years of his political life he had brought peoples of different sects and shades of opinion to one common stage and inspired them all with one ideal. In sincerity, tenacity of purpose and self-sacrifice in the service of humanity he had set an example which for the past twelve centuries had been almost forgotten by representatives of the Muslim community. It is sad indeed that he could not live even the natural span of life to fulfil his mission. Die one must, but premature death is heart-rending and unbearable. May God bless the work he has left behind and preserve his soul in Mercy !

إِنَّا لِلّٰهِ وَإِنَّا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ

“ We (live) for God and unto Him we return —Qur'ān.

MOHD 'ABDUL MU'ID KHĀN

THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF SIR SYED AHMAD KHĀN

THE BACKGROUND

THE first part of the nineteenth century was a time when the remnant of the great Mughal Empire was fast heading towards extinction.

The titular emperor was the second of the name of Akbar, but one who had nothing in common with his great ancestor the like of whom the world has rarely seen. After the fall of Delhi to the arms of Lord Lake in 1803 the Empire of the Mughals had been confined to the great fort, the decimated buildings of which surrounded by their magnificent enclosure, are still the wonder of the traveller.¹ Still the Court etiquette, the *entourage* of the Emperor, the titular nobility and the patronage of the throne, however nominal they might have become, were guarded with jealous and punctilious care. This was the atmosphere in which Syed Ahmad was born on October 17th, 1817. His paternal grandfather was a Hazārī and enjoyed the title of Jawwād-ud-Daulāh Jawwād 'Alī Khān, while his maternal grandfather had seen service under the East India Company as an attaché to Lord Wellesly's embassy to Iran in 1799, and then as a political officer at the court of the king of Burma at Ava. He then returned to the court and was appointed prime minister by Akbar II. On the death of Syed Ahmad's father, Syed Muhammad Taqī, who had lived a life more or less of a recluse, Akbar II's son and successor, Bahādur Shāh II, the last of a great line, gave the Syed the titles of Jawwād-ud-Daulah 'Arif Jung, the first of which had been left vacant by the death of his maternal grandfather.

But the future leader of men could not be content with life at the court of a nominal emperor, and he joined the service of the Company as a Sarishtadār at Delhi when he was twenty, and was later appointed a Nā'ib-Munshī at the commissioner's court at Agra, rising soon to the office of Sadr-Amīn or subordinate judge of his own home town, Delhi.

¹ As is well-known the palaces within the Fort covered practically all the grounds on which the barracks now stand and the lawns which were laid out after their destruction. Fergusson has given a full description of the buildings of the Fort in pre-Mutiny days as well as a complete plan. For this see his *History of Indian and Eastern Architectures*, II, 309-312, also Sir Syed Ahmad Khān, *Āthār-us-Sanādīd* (compiled in 1847), Cawnpore 1904, pp. 284

It was now that he wrote his first considerable work, the *Āthār-u's-Sanādīd* or the Archæological History of Delhi, which made such a mark that it was soon rendered into the French language by that great orientalist Garcin de Tassy and found its way to England. The writer was transferred from Delhi to Rohtak and thence to Bijnor in 1855, and it was while he was stationed at the latter town that he had to undergo the trials of the great revolt known in history as the Indian Mutiny.¹

1857 A D

THE storm and stress of any great upheaval is in itself a period of tremendous turmoil, especially when it closes a chapter in the history of a people. The Mutiny saw the end of a long trial and the final disappearance of the reigning house of the Timūrids, including the nobility which had been the mainstay of the people for centuries. The old was no more and the new had not yet arrived, with the result that the harvest of the Mutiny was a great chasm personified in the mutual distrust of the new *de jure* rulers of the land and the followers of the religion of the ex-emperor. While the English continued to regard the Indians, in particular the Muslims, with grave suspicion, the Muslims on their part considered everything British—their way of life, their mode of dress, their food and even their language—as something unclean, something to be shunned. The old days of the happy-go-lucky merchant-adventurer from England who set up his establishment in the Indian style, dressed *indienne*, ate as his fellow-men did in India, spoke the language of the country, and even composed poetry in Rēkhtah or Urdu, had passed, and there were signs that all would not be happy with the Indian and the Englishman in spite of the Proclamation which Queen Victoria issued on her assumption of the sovereignty of India in 1858.²

As Syed Ahmad was a pioneer in the archæological description of Delhi, so he was the first to write the history of the Mutiny in his *Tārīkh-i-Sarkashīye-Bijnor*, in which he has delineated with great vividness all that passed before his eyes in that Mutiny-ridden town.³ But this need not detain us. Probably, again, the first effective political pamphlet ever written in an Indian language is his *Risāla Asbāb-i-Baghāwat-i-Hind* which was written while Syed Ahmad was a subordinate judge at Muradabad. The brochure was compiled in Urdu in the year of the Mutiny, 1858, and was not translated into English till fifteen years later by Sir Auckland

1 For the early days of Sir Syed see Graham, *Life and Work of Syed Ahmad Khan* (written during his life-time in 1885) and the fuller *Hayāt-i-Jāwīd* by Maulānā Hālī. The reviews of the former were published separately in a book-form at Aligarh in 1886.

2 For the conditions of pre-Mutiny English Society in India see T G P Spear, *The Nabobs*, Humphrey Milford. For some lines of Urdu poetry composed by a European see quarterly *Urdu*, 1927, 633.

3 For this see *Hayāt*, 57.

Colvin and the Syed's English biographer Lt -Col Graham. The pamphlet is a unique piece of work, having been written in an atmosphere of great tension by one who, besides being a government servant, had no political education worth the name. Here was this man of forty, undaunted by what he had seen around him, analysing the causes of the Revolt and putting the blame on the English for not having admitted Indians to the Indian Legislative Council ¹

EARLY POLITICAL THOUGHT

THE latest Urdu edition of the work extends to 66 pages, while there are twenty closely printed pages of extracts from the English translation in Graham's *Life of Syed Ahmad Khan*. The author first of all defines rebellion as meaning (1) fighting against the established government of the country, (2) opposition to the orders of the established authority with a view to defeating its purposes in the end, (3) helping those who are the enemies of the established authority, (4) civil war of the subject people among themselves without regard to the disciplinary laws in force, (5) lack of sincere loyalty towards the government and the desire not to side with it in time of need. He says that during the terrible days of 1857 there was not one of these points which was not found among the people and the *affaire* was a rebellion of the first magnitude ². He remarks "The primary causes of rebellion are everywhere the same. It invariably results from the existence of a policy obnoxious to the dispositions, aims, habits, and views of those by whom the rebellion is brought about. As regards the Rebellion of 1857 the fact is that for a long period many grievances had been rankling in the hearts of the people. In course of time a vast store of explosive material had been collected. It wanted but the application of the match to light it, and the match was applied by the mutinous army" ³

He brushes aside one by one all the supposed causes of the Mutiny and discredits some of them entirely while some he regards as too remote. He then says in a manner so categorical as to be bewildering that he considers the root cause of all the trouble to be one and one only, and that is the non-admission of Indians to the Legislative Council of India. He first of all discusses the question of the admission of his countrymen to the British Parliament and regards this as both impracticable and conducing to nothing beneficial to India. But "there was no reason whatever why Indians were not admitted to the Legislative Council of their own country." ⁴

1. *Risāla Asbāb-i-Baghāwat-i-Hind*, limited and confidential edition printed in 1858, second edition, Agra, 1903, profuse extracts from the English translation in Graham, 33-57

2. *Risāla*, 1

3. *Life*, 33

4. *Risāla*, 12

"It is from the voice of the people only that Government can learn whether its projects are likely to be well received, and this voice alone can check errors in the law and warn us of dangers before they burst upon us and destroy us."¹ He narrates how the government continued to pass laws which were regarded by Indians as repugnant to all they held dear "At length came the time when all men looked upon the English government as slow poison, a rope of sand, a treacherous flame of fire There was no man to reason with them, no one to point out to them the absurdity of such ideas. Why? Because there was not one of their own number among the members of the Legislative Council" He goes on to say that there are difficulties in the way in which the "ignorant and uneducated natives of Hindustan should be selected to form an assembly like the English Parliament, but whatever the difficulties such a step is not only advisable but absolutely necessary"²

As may well be imagined, there were bickerings among Syed Ahmad Khān's friends who said that a brochure like this should never be printed and published at all, and one of them, Rai Shankar Das, actually begged him to burn all the copies he had. But Syed Ahmad Khān had the pamphlet printed, sent a copy to the India Government, and 50 copies to members of Parliament. There were men in the Government of India, like the Foreign Secretary Mr Cecil Beadon, who began to consider him as a fire-brand, but even they had to change their opinion when it was known that the book was not published in India at all.³ It is significant that in couple of years after the partial publication of the "*Causes*" came the first India Council Act of 1861, under which Indians were admitted for the first time in the Governor-General's Legislative Council.⁴

Along with his plea for the inclusion of Indians in the Councils of the Crown he had tried to prove that the Revolt of 1857 was not the work solely of the Muslims but of irresponsible members of the whole Indian community. This thesis he further propounds in a series of pamphlets called *The Loyal Muhammadans of India*, which he published in 1860. As Sir Syed's Urdu biographer, the great poet, Hālī, says, "Whatever articles, brochures and books written by Englishmen one opened, they were found to be full of calumnies against the Muslims,"⁵ and Syed Ahmad Khān began to publish in a serial form the episodes in the life of those who had stood by the British during the dark days of the Mutiny. This should

1 *Lyfe*, 36

2 *Lyfe*, 38, 39

3. *Hayāt*, 61, 62

4. Under the Indian Councils Act of 1862 not less than 6 and not more than 12 "additional members" were nominated to the Governor-General's Council, with the proviso that not less than half of these were to be non-officials. The Executive Councillors were ex officio members of this enlarged Council. Syed Ahmad Khān was one of these non-official members from 1878-1882.

5 *Hayāt*, 63 "*The Loyal Mohammadans of India*" was not a pamphlet as Graham says on p. 58 of his book but consisted of a series of pamphlets compiled in 1860 and 1861, *Hayāt*, 64

not lead us to think that he had digressed one jot from his pan-Indian outlook, and when he began to consider that the panacea for the ills of India was education and nothing but education he was thinking only in terms of Indians. He said once to Col Graham that the socio-political diseases of India might be cured by this prescription and his first attempt to fulfil this purpose was to open as early as 1858 a school at Murādābād which was to specialise in modern history.¹ In 1864 he had made up his mind that Indians must first be educated and their ignorance obliterated in order that they should be useful to their country, and by education he meant instruction in modern arts and sciences. He was a Sadr Amīn at Ghāzīpūr when he inaugurated the Translation Society which was to develop into the Scientific Society of Aligarh.² The work of the Translation Society, as its name suggests, was to have important books on literature and arts translated from English into Urdu and thus to bring Indians not knowing English abreast with modern thought. A short time afterwards he founded the new Ghāzīpūr School, which, by the way, still exists, and in his opening remarks, referring to the recent promulgation of the Indian Council Act of 1861, he said "Gentlemen, the decision of the British Government that natives of India should be eligible for a seat in the Viceroy's Council both rejoiced and grieved me. It grieved me because I was afraid the education of the natives was not sufficiently advanced to enable them to discharge the duties of their important office with credit to themselves and benefit to their country. The appointment of natives to the Supreme Council was a memorable incident in the history of India. The day is not far distant, I trust, when that Council will be composed of representatives from every division or district and thus the laws which it will pass will be laws enacted by the feelings of the entire country. You will, of course, see that this cannot come to pass unless we strive to educate ourselves thoroughly."³

THE SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY

THIS last sentence sums up Syed Ahmad Khān's whole future line of action. He began in 1858 by urging the need to associate Indians in the law-making bodies of the Government, but soon perceived that they lacked knowledge in modern sciences and arts and immediately turned his attention to make them worthy of the position they were to hold. He predicted that if they were fully instructed in modern sciences they would have a council almost as wide as Parliament itself, with representatives of every district on it.

It was with this object in view that on his transfer from Ghāzīpūr to Aligarh in April 1864 Syed Ahmad Khān transferred the paraphernalia

¹ *Life*, 70

² *Ibid*, 72

³ *Ibid*, 84.

belonging to the Scientific Society to Aligarh. With the help of Col Graham he persuaded the Duke of Argyll to be its President and the renovated Society was opened by the Commissioner of the Meerut Division on February 14, 1866.¹ But Syed Ahmad was still not averse to bringing home to his fellow-countrymen the need for their interest in political matters. He expressed his ideas in a speech delivered at Badā'un on May 10, 1866, thus "It is with great regret, my fellow-countrymen, that we view the indifference and want of knowledge evinced by the people of India with regard to the British Parliament. Can you expect its members, gentlemen, to take a deep interest in your affairs if you do not lay your affairs before them? I entreat you to interest yourselves in your country."²

It was the same theme which prompted him to start his famous *Aligarh Institute Gazette* on the 30th of March 1866 from Aligarh. The motto crowning each issue of the paper is remarkable, it is "Liberty of the press is a prominent duty of the Government and a natural right of the subjects." It is noticeable that the first article in the paper is on Parliament, while successive issues of this weekly are full of political news from England and from all parts of the world. In this paper he strongly advocated time and again that Indians should join the British Indian Association, the formation of which was first advocated by the *Englishman* of Calcutta, so that the attention of Parliament might be drawn to Indian affairs. Sir Syed was not mere theorist, and not content with the exposition of his feelings about the matter, he actually formed a British Indian Association at Aligarh on the model of the one advocated by the *Englishman*.³

In spite of his being in Government service Syed Ahmad Khān was an apostle of courage in politics. He says in his Badā'un speech quoted above: "I am afraid that a feeling of fear—fear that the Government or district authorities would esteem you factious and discontented—deters you from coming forward for your country's good Believe me that this moral cowardice is wrong, this apprehension unfounded."⁴ Naturally a man with such ideas would proceed on purely democratic lines, and he bursts into eloquence when he envisages further "The word *liberty* has for us all a spell which causes the heart to beat more strongly, the breast to heave more proudly When we possess an Indian Parliament, legislating mainly for the good of the country, filled by men whose fidelity is beyond suspicion, then shall the bright days of India return, or rather brighter days than ever she possessed in her best times."⁵ In the issue of the 28th December 1866 he actually advocates the institution of an Indian Parliament. He quotes from the Hindi paper,

1 *Hayāt*, 83, *Life*, 82, 88

2 *Life*, 91

3 *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, 3-5, 1866

4 *Gazette*, 1866, p. 112

5 *Ibid.*, 1866, p. 399

Shakya Darpan, that the present representation of Indians in the Council is like a toy given to a child. The paper says that most of the noblemen and Rājās who have the honour of sitting in the Council are by no means fit for that high position, and either they do not open their mouths at all or else make proposals which are useless to the welfare of the country. It is therefore urged that the councils should be so constituted as to include a good number of capable men from the middle classes of society. There is a remarkable plea for the establishment of a House of Commons, the seats of which should be filled by those who are recommended by petitions from the inhabitants of different districts.¹

QUESTION OF SCRIPT AND LANGUAGE

If there was a certain partiality towards his co-religionists in his series *The Loyal Muhammadans of India* in 1860, it had entirely disappeared in 1866, and whatever Syed Ahmad Khān was advocating then in the shape of political and general education was for the Hindus as well as Muslims. He was all along working hand in hand with his Hindu fellow countrymen, and his greatest friend was Rājā Jaikishan Dās Bahādur, whom Syed Ahmad Khān made the first Secretary of the Aligarh Scientific Society which contained almost as many Hindus as Muslims among its members. The disillusionment came not in the political arena but in the matter of script, and that not from the Syed but from an unexpected quarter. He was fully convinced that Urdu was an embodiment of the synthesis of cultures which was the hall-mark of the Mughal period, and was perhaps the greatest man after Ghālīb who, by his own example, had put that language on a sound footing by making it a literary language and a language of every day correspondence in cultured circles. Up till then in Upper India correspondence was carried out both by Muslims and Hindus in Persian, and it was regarded as something uncultured to carry it on in Urdu.² Syed Ahmad would have none of this and the fashion he set was taken up eagerly by the country. He had himself developed a style of his own and had given a tremendous impetus to the language by his Translation Society at Ghāzīpūr, which later developed into the Aligarh Scientific Society and which was the bureau of the translation into Urdu of some advanced and technical books on the history of Greece, China, India and Egypt, Political Economy, Mensuration, Trigonometry, Algebra, Euclid, Geometry, Calculus, etc.³ He began to have a definite bias in favour of

¹ *Gazette*, 1866, 644

² Even the Rājā of the far flung Travancore State used to write to the Governor-General of the East India Company in Persian. Some of these letters written towards the end of the eighteenth century are to be found in the Imperial Records Office at Delhi, see paper by I H Baqai, *Some Unpublished Persian Letters of the Rajah of Travancore*, Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol XIX, 121

³ For a list of some of the books translated at Aligarh see *Life*, p. 83

English education but at the same time he sought to enrich the Urdu language, so as to prepare the way for the institution of the great Urdu University which he had in mind and which was later propounded in great detail by his worthy son Syed Mahmūd.¹ In all these early attempts he had the active support of sincere stalwart Hindu gentlemen who were at his elbow to do everything towards the fulfilment of the object he had in view. In this as well as in all other matters he had never shown the slightest inclination towards sectarianism and maintained that the welfare of India demanded that Hindus and Muslims should work together hand in hand for the common good of the country. The scheme of a Urdu University was first mooted as early as 1867, when the Syed sent to the Viceroy on behalf of the N.W.P. branch of the British Indian Association on August 1, 1867, a request to the effect that a "Vernacular University" should be established which should arrange for complete instruction in all the sciences and arts, and that examinations should be held in all the subjects in which examinations were held under the auspices of the Calcutta University.² The representation further urged the establishment of a Bureau of Translation which should undertake the translation of University textbooks into the Urdu language. This proposal was sent by the Syed while he was stationed at Benares, and even in that city the attitude of the people was so placid and conciliatory that the murmur of the counterproposal of having two Universities, one for Muslims where Urdu should be the medium of instruction and the other for the Hindus where the characters used should be Devanagari, was not heard till the end of the year. Not only that, but certain well-placed Hindus of Benares made the demand that Urdu script should be entirely replaced by Devanagari script in the courts and the language used there should in future be Sanskritised Bhasha.³ Syed Ahmad Khān's Urdu biographer, the late Maulānā Hālī, says that all this was a great shock to the Syed as he thought that the question of language was elemental, and if an artificial demarcation were made between the two sections of Indian people on the basic question of a vehicle of thought, it would not be possible to have any common ground in the higher affairs of life. The change in the Syed's outlook was so sudden and complete that when he spoke to the commissioner of the Benares, Division about the need for denominational education for the Muslims, the commissioner was greatly surprised and remarked to him that it was the first time that he was hearing something about just one section of the population of the country from his lips, for up till now he had not allied himself to the question of the progress of any particular community but had made the cause of the whole of India his own.⁴

1 Scheme of an Urdu University, *Hayāt*, p. 91. The whole scheme is detailed in *Tahzīb-ul-Akhhlāq*, (*Mohammedan Social Reformer*), 15-6-1290 H (10-8-1873), pp. 91-102, and in my father, Mr. H. M. Mūsā Khān Sherwānī's booklet, *Muslim University ke Bhūlayhuṣṣ Uṣūl*.

2 *Hayāt*, 89.

3 *Ibid.*, 93, 94.

4 *Ibid.*, 96, 97.

CHANGE IN OUTLOOK

THIS digression from the Syed's political views was necessary as from now onwards he practically left the political field and began in right earnest to think of the educational progress of his own co-religionists, even to the extent of advising them not to take part in politics altogether. It is significant that the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* which began in 1866 by educating the Indians in the politics of England and the Empire and the world at large, becomes absolutely silent about politics in 1869 and its pages are full of the Urdu-Hindi controversy, the Syed, however, taking good care to print both sides of the picture. There was still very little of the purely communal spirit in him and when he sailed for England in April, 1869, along with his son Syed Mahmūd, who later became famous as the first Indian judge of the Allahabad High Court, he left the Aligarh Scientific Society as well as its organ the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* in the hands of Rājā Jaikishan Dās. But the whole organisation was fast segregating itself from politics and becoming more and more social and literary in its outlook.

Syed Ahmad Khān is said to have been "working for Anglo-Muslim friendship ever since the Mutiny,"¹ but whenever there was the least fear of his fellow-countrymen or co-religionists being misunderstood, he did not fail to take up his pen in support of their cause. When a high officer of the government of his province, Sir W. W. Hunter, wrote a book entitled *The Indian Muhammadans, are they bound in Conscience to rebel against the Queen?* and tried to prove that the Wahhabis were rebels and that they represented the principles on which Islam was based, Syed Ahmad Khān wrote a most denunciating review in *The Pioneer* which was reprinted in the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* from November 24, 1871 to February 23, 1872.² There are one or two remarkable sentences in this long review which show the Syed's frankness and outspokenness and form a background to his political thought of the period. Thus he says. "Dr Hunter stands convicted either of intentionally misleading the public or of profound ignorance."³ And, again, "Like begets like, and if cold acquiescence is all that the Mohammadans receive at the hands of the ruling race, Dr Hunter must not be surprised at the cold acquiescence of the Mohammaden community."⁴

1 Gurumukh Nihāl Singh, *Presidential Address of the Indian Political Science Conference*, Fifth Session Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol IV, p. 382. Sardār Shāhib seems to think that the change in Sir Syed's political outlook was due to the "subtle and powerful influence of Principal Beck," although he did not come out to India till 1883, and the change in the Syed's views had already begun to take place in 1857. See *Tārīkh-i-Madrasat-ul-'Ulūm*, Aligarh, 1901, *Muslim University Handbook*, 1931, p. 4.

2 The review has been reprinted almost in extenso in *Life*, pp. 205-243, and in *Hayāt*, 122-128.

3 *Life*, 232.

4 *Ibid*, 237.

BIAS TOWARDS MUSLIM EDUCATION

THE Syed had now put his whole heart in to the upliftment of his own co-religionists, and began to work for the establishment of an educational institution at Aligarh. The scheme was mooted in a meeting in February 1873, but the actual school was not started till the 1st of June 1875. The foundation-stone of the M.A.-O. College was laid by the Viceroy, Lord Lytton, on January 8, 1878, i.e. exactly one week after the Imperial Durbar at Delhi, and was the first public function of Lord Lytton as the newly created Viceroy of India. The address which was read by Syed Mahmūd is remarkable in many ways. Politics were not, of course, touched upon, but the Syed thought fit to say to the Viceroy that the new masters of the soil "should make it the first principle of their Government to advance the happiness of the millions by establishing peace, by administering justice, by spreading education and by introducing comforts of life," for only then can there be "a long life to the union of India and England."¹ The new College may be said to be a Muslim institution in that it was founded by a Muslim and the committee which ruled the institution was composed of Muslim members, but it is remarkable how on the one hand it was thrown open to Hindus as well as their Muslim brethren and on the other was actively helped by the money donated not only by the rulers of Indian States like the Maharajas of Patiala and Vizianagaram but by the middle class Hindus as well. There was not a tinge of communalism in the institution, and when Syed Ahmad Khan went on his famous tour in the Punjab early in 1884, out of hundreds of addresses presented to him was one by the members of the Indian Association of Lahore which was read by its President, Sardār Dayāl Singh. The address says among other things that not the least remarkable feature of the Syed's public career had been the breadth of his views and his "liberal attitude towards sections of the country other than your own co-religionist." It goes on to say, "Your conduct throughout has been stainless of bigotry. The benefits of the noble educational institution you have established at Aligarh are open alike to Hindus as well as Mohammadans. Our unhappy country is split up with petty jealousies and had suffered so much in the past from sectarian and religious dissensions, that the advent of a man of your large-hearted and liberal views is a matter of peculiar congratulation at this time. Your highly useful career in the Legislative Council of India can only be touched upon here. Your impartial care for all classes, your manly and faithful representation of national views and your vigilant regard for national interests while acting in that body deserves the warmest acknowledgements from us and our countrymen."²

This is the view of the President and the members of an association which consisted mainly of Hindus and Sikhs, and gives an idea of the

1. *Addresses and Speeches relating to M.A.-O. College, Aligarh*, 1922, 30.

2. *Sir Syed kā Safarnāma-i-Panjāb*, Aligarh, 1885, p. 157.

feelings which the M.A.-O. College aroused at that moment in the minds of the thinking men of India.

WORK AS A MEMBER OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S COUNCIL

THE feelings of the non-Muslims towards the Aligarh Movement was to a large extent due to the Syed's own attitude while he was serving as an additional member of the Viceroy's Council from 1878 to 1882. He justified his nomination by speaking practically on every important Bill that was laid before it and expressed sentiments which would do credit to any nationalist in this country. Thus, speaking on October 18, 1879, on the Vaccination Bill, he said that the liberty of the subjects was one of those great rights which have been given to the people by the advent of the British rule.¹ Later, speaking on the Central Provinces Local Self-Government Bill, he said that he was one of those who thought that the success of Local Self-Government would be achieved in proportion to the powers which would be delegated to the Local Boards and District Councils.² But when he touched high politics, he was swayed by the lasting impressions he received during the unfortunate Urdu-Hindi controversy and said that while borrowing representative institutions from England we must bear in mind the differences which existed between India and England in matters political and social. India, unlike England, was caste-ridden, and members belonging to different religions and different communities were staunch in their individual rites and ceremonies. He therefore warned the Viceroy against the introduction of simple electoral machinery on the English pattern into India, for this was bound to do tremendous harm to the country. He was almost prophetic and said that to copy the political institutions of the other land without regard to the conditions prevailing in the country was bound to lead to even greater prejudices and to an increase in the differences which already existed.³

When, however, it came to be a question of Indian self-respect in the matter of the famous Ilbert Bill, he delivered a vigorous speech in the Council on March 9, 1883. He first of all brushed aside the argument of the Anglo-Indian community that the Council could not discuss the Bill at all. He said that the arguments brought forward were exactly the same as those propounded when the Indian judicial officers of the East India Company were given jurisdiction over Eurasians and Anglo-Indians in civil matters, and warned the Government that if the jurisdiction of the courts was based on pure racialism, it was bound to lead to unfairness and injustice. He ends his speech with these words: "My Lord, I am fully

¹ *Maṣmū'a Lectures and Speeches* p. 138

² *Ibid.*, 140

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 140-145

confident that the time has come when the people of India, whether Hindu, Mahomedan, European or Eurasian, will begin to understand that they are equally the subjects of the Queen and that there is no difference whatever between their political rights or constitutional position"¹

ON THE EVE OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

He delivered a remarkable address at Patna on January 27, 1883, which contains his considered views on the position of the Muslims in India, and in all probability, in spite of what he said later on in regard to their share in the politics of the country, they were the views he held up to his death. He prefaced his lecture by the observation that he was standing before the audience to express his views not on an abstruse matter which required much thought but on facts of merely everyday occurrence which have a direct bearing on the prosperity of the country "The primary duty of those who were striving towards that object was that they should aim at the welfare of the country as a whole. Friends, just as the higher caste Hindus came and settled in this land once, forgot where their earlier home was and considered India to be their own country, we also did exactly the same thing—we also left our former climes hundreds of years ago, we also regard this land of Ind as our very own Both my Hindu brethren and my Muslim co-religionists breathe the same air, drink the waters of the sacred Ganges and the Jamuna, eat the products which God has given to this country, live and die together. Both of us have shed off our former dress and habits and while the Muslims have adopted numberless customs belonging to the Hindus, the Hindus have been vastly influenced by the Muslim habits and customs I say with conviction that if we were to disregard for a moment our conception of Godhead, then in all matters of everyday life the Hindus and the Muslims really belong to one community (قوم) as children of the soil and not two, and the progress of the country is only possible if we have a union of hearts, mutual sympathy and love I grieve at the sight of those who do not understand this basic point and inculcate views which would ultimately lead to a permanent cleavage between two sections of the Indian community I have always said that our land of India is like a newly-wedded bride whose two beautiful and luscious eyes are the Hindus and the Muslims, if the two live in concord with one another, the bride will remain for ever resplendent and becoming, while if they make up their mind to destroy each other she is bound to become squint-eyed and even one-eyed."²

These were the views of Syed Ahmad Khan on the eve of the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885 The British Indian

¹ *Maṣmū'a*, 168

² *Ibid*, 149-151

Association with which he had identified himself had all along urged, the "representation of the voice of the people, their views, their wishes or their wants"¹ i.e. more or less the same stand as he had taken in his vigorous pamphlet, *The Causes of the Indian Revolt*. But it was felt in some circles that there was too much of the aristocratic about the constitution of the Association, and even a proposal to lower its subscription was negatived.² A large number of Bengalis whose names were to become prominent in connection with the early sessions of the Indian National Congress were dissatisfied with this state of affairs and started an Indian League in 1875. Prominent among the supporters of the new move were Sisir Kumar Ghose, Motilal Ghose, Shambhu Charan Mookerji, Surendranath Banerji, Kristo Das Paul and many others whose names were to shine in the early annals of the Congress. The new Indian League completely overshadowed the old British Indian Association, but in its turn lost its importance with the institution of the Indian National Congress, which met for the first time in Bombay in December 1885.³

It seems strange that with all that has been said, Syed Ahmad Khān should have set his face against the Congress from the very beginning. But if we look objectively at the matter, it is not difficult to understand the point of view which he adopted, and the crux of his reasoning lies in the educational problem of the country as he understood it. Calcutta had been the seat of the British Government for eighty years and was the centre of the new educational policy which began in Macaulay's educational minute and developed into the establishment of the Calcutta University in 1858. Thus, in 1885, there was a whole generation of Bengalis which had taken full advantage of English education and which was filling the offices of the Central Government, at the same time filtering into the Upper Provinces where English education had not developed to any great extent. The earlier efforts of Syed Ahmad Khān were towards the end that in spite of the fact that there was no University in the Upper Provinces, a centre of education for the people of those provinces should be formed, where education should be imparted on more or less the same principles as in the Calcutta University with this difference that it should be in the Vernacular, meaning thereby Urdu. But that had been brought to naught by the springing up of the Hindi-Urdu controversy. Of all the classes of Indian society the Muslims were the most backward, and that for two reasons—one, that most of them had been employed in various capacities during the latter days of the Mughal Empire and had lost everything with its downfall, and secondly, that whole families had been wiped out by the recriminatory process after the Mutiny. Syed Ahmad Khān realised that a whole generation of the Hindus in general and Bengalis in particular had imbibed what was available in western knowledge, and if ignorant

¹ Petition to the Parliament, 1858, Andrews and Mookerjee, *Rise and Growth of the Congress*, 108-109.

² *Rise and Growth*, 109.

³ For the early history of the Congress see Sitaramayya, *The History of the Congress*, pp. 20 ff.

Muslims were to dabble in the politics of their Hindu compatriots, they would not be able to cope with the situation. He, therefore, immediately suggested to the Muslims that they should give up politics for the present till they were sufficiently instructed, otherwise they would be swept off the board altogether.

LATER POLITICAL THOUGHT

It was with this object in view that he formed the Muslim Educational Conference organisation, the first meeting of which was held at Aligarh on December 12, 1886, just one year after the institution of the Indian National Congress. Speaking on the very first resolution he said that those were grossly mistaken who thought that the conditions of the Muslims would in any way be bettered by arguing in political matters, and what was needed for the present was education and nothing else than education.¹ Exactly one year after this he delivered a speech at Lucknow on December 28, 1887 and detailed his views on the subject. Just as the writer of *Thoughts on the Present Discontents* and author of the two speeches on America had been awed by the turn of events in France, so the Syed, an ardent espouser of political reform, fears that merely copying of the principles of the west without paying heed to the circumstances ruling the country would bring more harm than good to India in general and Muslims in particular. He is afraid of the man in the street, the underman, whether a B.A. or a M.A., who would take the place of those belonging to aristocratic families who had the tradition of government instilled into them. He assures his hearers that those sitting in the Viceroy's Council state their views without fear or favour, without regard as to whether the person sitting on the Presidential chair is the Viceroy or only a statue of marble, and without consideration for what others think about them. He says that the fullest heed is paid to representations and memorials which are received from the subjects and nothing is left unconsidered. It is the business of the Government to preserve law and order, as well as to preserve life, property and rights, and for these sacred purposes to institute courts of law. He enumerates the 49 grievances which the Congress had placed before the Government and is very clear and explicit in his point of view as regards the method of election. The Congress had even in its early days resolved that the "Councils should be expanded by the admission of a considerable proportion of members,"² which should be elected presumably on the English model on the comparative majority system. Knowing, as he did, the backwardness of the Muslims and being a thorough realist as he was, he dealt with the whole question

1. *Majma'u'a*, 280.

2. *History of Congress*, 36

and analysed it fully. He gives four alternative methods of election to the Council.

(1) There may be joint electorates based on universal suffrage, with the proviso that Muslims should vote for the Muslim candidates and the Hindus for the Hindu candidates, under such a system naturally the Hindu candidate would be elected as he would have a majority of 4 1.

(2) The second alternative put forward is that there should be a property limit to the right of vote, if this be so, he laments that there would be few of the audience who could equal their Hindu brethren in point of wealth and income, and ordinarily no Muslim would have a chance of getting in the Council.

(3) He supposes a third alternative that a certain number of seats in the Viceroy's Legislative Council should be reserved for Hindus and Muslims respectively and that the proportion should be fixed according to their respective population in the country, even then the Muslims would inevitably form the minority ¹

(4) Lastly, he considers the possibility of separate electorates and a reservation of seats, and supposes that the proportion of the Muslim seats is increased even to the extent of making them equal to the Hindu seats; even then, says he, there would be few Muslim members as well versed and as efficient as the Hindu members, and there would be few of them indeed who would leave off their business to serve on the Council at their own expense at Simla or Calcutta ²

Thus, standing before his audience as early as December 1887, he analysed all possibilities and considers each of them derogatory to the Muslim interests. *En passant* he says in a vigorous passage that there are some who liken Ireland to India. "Let us suppose that the conditions of Ireland are similar to those of this country. We must remember that there are thousands of Irishmen who are willing to sacrifice their lives for the good of their beautiful country. They do not fear prison bars nor bayonet charges and the whole land is standing as one man against the present system. I ask you the names of even ten of my countrymen who can face a bayonet charge for a patriotic cause, if there are none, the whole agitation becomes utterly inappropriate and useless."³ Dealing with the question of the Budget, especially under military heads, he asks very pointedly how many who wish to have a decisive voice in army expenditure know anything about implements of war, or even what artillery charges are like. He, therefore, says that Indians should begin by joining the forces as volunteers and blames the Government for not allowing them

¹ Although in this case he probably means joint electorates, he does not say that the Muslim members so elected would not represent their co-religionists

² These schemes in *Majmū'a*, 304-305

³ *Majmū'a*, 306

to do so ¹ He finishes by the remark that for the present Muslims should pay the fullest attention to education in general and higher education in particular, which would raise their status and take them to the highest positions in the country ²

The next and the last great speech on politics delivered by the Syed was that of March 16, 1888, ten weeks after the Madras Congress of 1887, when he addressed a large audience of Muslims at Meerut ³ He warned the Hindus that unity was to be achieved not by a make-believe in politics that there is no distinction between Hindus and Muslims, but by toleration, friendship, and mutual sympathy, which were the hall-mark of India in days gone by He advised the Hindus and Muslims of the Upper Provinces to stand united, for "both drink from the same wells, breathe the same air, and each is dependent on the other," so that everything which might cause a rift between them was not to the good of either of them

In this speech he put certain definite problems before his audience He asked them the direct question, who would take the place of the English if they were to leave India, the Hindus or the Muslims ? He further asked them if there was any precedent in the whole history of the world that a conquering nation had granted full representative government to the conquered nation especially when the conqueror and the conquered did not belong to this same race Under these circumstances how would it be possible for the Government to hand over the powers to elected representatives, as is demanded from them ? Then the man who once demanded the establishment of full parliamentary institutions for India goes on to say that no one has a right to vote on the Budget since the responsibility for it depends solely on the Government He reiterated the view that all the agitation which was on foot emanated from the Bengalis, though he is very careful in pointing out that all that the British Government was doing might not be to the good of the country, and that it was only natural that Indians should have a bill of complaints against a foreign Government But the demands must be reasonable Moreover he goes to the crux of his thesis and asks the Muslims to consider that they were wanting in knowledge, wanting in higher education, wanting in wealth, and they would help nobody if they were to dabble in politics On the other hand what was needed was that they should pay the fullest attention to their education and their education only They should further strive to make themselves rich both morally and materially, and should take to trade and commerce, especially foreign trade Even that, however, depended on education At the end of his lecture he says that just then it would be injurious to the interests of the Muslims to join hands with

¹ *Majmū'a* 308, 309

² *Ibid.*, 310

³ The speech was printed separately as well as included in the *Majmū'a*, 311-315 The speech contains a vehement denunciation of the word which was passed round that the Muslims joined the Madras Congress.

"the Bengalis," and if the Muslims were to do so they would be crushed by the Government with a far stronger hand than the Bengalis would be, for, says he, the Government are aware that the Muslims "are braver, more soldierly and greater born fighters"

This was probably the last speech Sir Syed Ahmad Khān delivered on a purely political theme. The rest of his life he spent in promoting the great institution he had founded at Aligarh, in furtherance of the object which he had so much at heart. He had refused the offer of a whole Jāgīr which had been wrested from a rebel after the Mutiny, for it was beyond him to "take advantage of the downfall of a whole nation," and died a pauper in the house of his friend the late Nawāb Hājī Ismā'il Khān Sherwānī, at Aligarh.¹

GENERAL REVIEW

If we briefly review Sir Syed's political thought we find that outwardly there is a marked contrast between his earlier and his later views, for while in 1858 he was a vehement supporter of political reform and representative institutions of a parliamentary type for India, he ended by opposing that system. The explanation of this strange phenomenon will be found in the objective study of the Syed's mind and, in spite of what may be said to the contrary, of the mind of great bulk of the Muslims.² Sir Syed was a theorist as well as a realist. The basic argument of his *Causes of the Indian Revolt* is that the Mutiny was the work not of the Muslims only but of misguided Hindus and Muslims, and the chief reason for the catastrophe was the lack of means with which it was possible to make known the Indian viewpoint to the British Parliament. The whole burden of his argument was that the interests of the Hindus and Muslims were the same and he championed the cause of a united India in politics, in social reform, and in educational matters, both in word and deed. The shock came in 1867, with the beginning of the Hindi agitation which soon developed into extreme separatist tendencies, and the Syed felt that if there was a difference in the matter of language—for it was maintained that the question of script would automatically lead to the introduction of uncommon words—then the Indians of the same province would ultimately not be able to make themselves understood to their own neighbours.³ Sir Syed felt the situation with such anguish that he thought it best to join issues with the new school of thought and try to keep his hold on the minds of the people of whatever creed, and we see that when he was away

¹ Speech on the History of the M.A.-O. College in the Mohammedan Educational Congress (Later Conference), fourth session, held at Aligarh in December 1889, *Majmū'a*, 343. For a graphic account of the last days of his illness see *Hayāt*, 202.

² Badr'ud-Dīn Tayabī opined as the President of the Indian National Congress session held at Madras in 1887 that the view of a large body of the Muslims was that they should work for the common benefit of all jointly with members of other races and creeds, see *Rise and Growth*, 173.

³ All correspondence between Syed Ahmad Khān and Saroda Prosād Sandal of the Allahabad Institute published in the *Gazette* of 27-12-1868 and 19-2-1869.

in Europe, his organ *The Aligarh Institute Gazette*, which had now become a champion of the cause of Urdu, was run by his right-hand man Rāja Jaikishan Dās

On his return from Europe, however, nationalist and votary of the unity of India as he was by temperament, he was greatly shocked at the turn the matter of language had taken in his own province and in Bihar, and he viewed with dismay the rift which was widening between the two sections of the Indian population of the Upper Provinces. Nothing daunted however, he delivered his great speech at Patna on January 27, 1883 and once again enunciated his love for the unity of the land. But there was no response from what was fast becoming the other camp, and he sat down to consider what it was best to do under the circumstances. He knew that the Muslims had lost all during the period of the downfall of the Mughals culminating in the tragedy of 1857—their learning, their culture and their position in Indian society—while their Hindu brethren, especially of the province of Bengal, had taken large strides in education and general uplift. The Syed, therefore, came to the conclusion that if the Muslims took active part in politics while they were inferior to the sister community in every way, they would not prove equal to the task and would not only suffer themselves but prove a burden to their partners as well. It was for this reason that he turned his whole attention to educating the Muslims on modern lines, and warned them of their mistake if they immediately joined the newly-formed Indian National Congress. Instead of that he formed another purely educational organisation, the Muslim Educational Congress—later renamed Conference—and invited his co-religionists to better their cultural and educational status before venturing on the stormy sea of politics, especially when they had to deal with others who held views diametrically opposed to their own. This was in 1886, and from now onwards he became more and more a social and a religious reformer, so much so that when we talk of the “Aligarh Movement” we mean thereby the movement for the modernisation and rationalisation of the life of the Muslims rather than a movement which had a political objective before it. Aligarh became the centre of Islamic culture and Muslim education to such an extent that when the first Muslim political association was formed there in the shape of the Muslim Social and Political Organisation in 1903,¹ it had to be shifted to Lucknow almost as soon as it had acquired a permanent status in the shape of the Muslim League. But Sir Syed continued to be a nationalist even in educational matters and threw open the portals of his foundation, the M A -O College, to the young men of all communities alike, this being perhaps the first instance in India of a purely denominational institution having on its rolls young men belonging to both the great sections of the Indian people.

H. K. SHERWANI.

¹ *Report of the Inaugural Meeting at Aligarh*, by Mr Hājī Muḥammad Mūsa Khān Sherwani.

AL-HIJĀZĪ THE AUTHOR OF *NAWĀDIR* *AL-AKHBĀR*

I

THE AUTHOR

ABŪ at-Tayyib Shihāb ad-Dīn Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Hasan b. Ibrāhīm, author of *Nawādir al-Akhhbār*, drew his origin from the Khazrajites of Madīna, who embraced Islam and were called the Ansār. All of his biographers say that al-Hijāzī's great-grandfather was Hasan. But as-Suyūṭī, though he mentions Hasan in the *Huṣn al-Muhādara*, writes Husain in the *Naẓm al-'Iqyan*.¹

Through as-Sakhāwī² we learn that another name of honour given to al-Hijāzī was Abū'l-'Abbās Zakīy ad-Dīn, but all his biographers agree that he was known to the public by the appellation of ash-Shihāb al-Hijāzī.

Although al-Hijāzī studied under professors belonging to different schools of law, he was a leading member of the Shafī'ite school.³

Shihāb ad-Dīn Ahmad al-Hijāzī was born on the 27th of Sha'bān,⁴ 790 A.H. (August, 1388 A.D.). From his very childhood he showed a literary trend of mind. He studied different sciences under different teachers. Among the professors of al-Hijāzī we find

(1) The great traditionist Hāfiz Zayn ad-Dīn Abū'al-Faḍl 'Abdu'r-Rahīm al-'Irāqī (725-806 A.H.), about whom Ibn Taghrī Birdī⁵ (874 A.H.) remarks "سيح الحديد بالدينار المصري", (2) the eminent scholar al-Majd al-Hanafī, (3) the great genealogist Badr (767-866 A.H.), (4) Al-Burhān al-Abnāsī (725-802 A.H.), about whom as-Suyūṭī⁶ says "سيح السيوح بالدينار المصري", (5) the great litterateur and traditionist al-Kamāl ad-Damīrī (d. 808 A.H.), from whom al-Hijāzī heard his commentary on Ibn-Mājah, (6) Shaykh 'Izzu'd-Dīn Ibn Jamā'ah (759-819 A.H.) who was highly renowned in metaphysics, and about whom as-Suyūṭī⁷ observes "و مال الى قول المعقول فاتقها اتفاقا بالغا الى ان صار هو المسار اليه في الديار المصرية".

¹ Page 63

² *Ad-Daw' al-Lāmi'*, Vol. II, p. 147

³ The *Naẓm al-'Iqyan* p. 63

⁴ *Ad-Daw' al-Lāmi'*, Vol. II, p. 147

⁵ *An-Nujūm-aṣ-Ṣāhira*, Vol. VI, p. 160

⁶ The *Huṣn al-Muhādara*, Vol. I

⁷ The *Naẓm al-'Iqyan*

(7) Waliy ad-Dīn al-‘Irāqī (762-826 A.H.), who is called by the biographers . الامام العلامة الحافظ المقيي الاصولي (8) Al-Basātī, the Qādī (756-842 A.H.), (9) Ibn Abī al-Majd, (10) the great scholar, critic and traditionist, Imām al-Huffāz,¹ Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalānī (773-852 A.H.), about whom Ibn-Taghrī Birdī² says "سيح الاسلام حافظ المشرق والمغرب اسير المؤمنين في الحديث شهاب الدين قاضي قصاه الديار المصريه وعالمها وحافظها وساعرها ،،

An important fact to which the list of al-Hijāzī's teachers bears witness is that he was sent to school at a very early age. It has been noticed above that one of his professors died when al-Hijāzī was hardly twelve years old. The most astonishing thing, however, is that though the great traditionist Hāfiz Zayn ad-Dīn al-‘Irāqī, a professor of al-Hijāzī, died in 806 A.H., when his pupil was only sixteen, yet the latter had duly qualified himself in tradition and had received from his teacher the authority (*al-Ijāzah*) for the instruction of others therein. This list also points to the fact that al-Hijāzī acquired learning from the most distinguished professors with world-wide fame in their special subjects.

Having well qualified himself in different branches of Arabic literature, al-Hijāzī devoted himself to legal studies—Hadīth and jurisprudence. But after a certain period, most probably after 816 A.H.,³ he gave up his religious studies and confined himself to literature. In the words of C. Huart, "His over-indulgence in the use of the marshnut or anacardium ruined his health and obliged him to give up his legal studies and confine himself to literature."⁴

Al-Hijāzī's prose and poetry gave him the right to his very high place in the Arabic literature of the ninth century of the Hijrah. He was an illustrious poet and elegant prose-writer with immense literary acquirements. Some writers call him a poet, others a litterateur. But as a matter of fact, al-Hijāzī was as good a poet as a prose-writer. He was richly endowed by nature with the poetical faculty, and his poems bear testimony to his originality and power. As-Suyūṭī⁵ calls him "the excellent and distinguished poet" and Ibn al-‘Imād⁶ "the poet of great genius." In the *Mu‘jam al-Matbū‘āt*⁷ Sarkis declares him to be "the poet of Egypt." Jirjī Zaydān⁸ makes mention of him among the poets of Egypt and Cairo, and not among the litterateurs. In his opinion al-Hijāzī is more a poet than a man of letters.

1 As Suyūṭī the *Husn al-Muhādara*

2 *An-Nuṣūṣ az-Zāhirah*, Vol. VII, p. 326

3 *ad-Ḍaw‘ al-Lāmi‘*, Vol. II, p. 148

4 *History of Arabic Literature*, p. 356

5 The *Husn al-Muhādara*, Vol. I, p. 246 (الشاعر البارع)

6 The *Shadharāt*, Vol. VII, p. 319 (الشاعر الملق)

7 Page 1151

8 *Tārīkh Adab al-Lughat al-‘Arabīyyah*, Vol. III, p. 126

It would be doing great injustice to al-Hijāzī's literary achievements to call him a mere poet and ignore all his other merits. No doubt he was an excellent poet, but all the same his numerous works on various topics show the fertility of his pen, and single him out as a versatile writer and an eminent litterateur. As-Suyūṭī rightly assigns to him a place among the poets and men of letters of Egypt. The fact that he excelled and distinguished himself in the domain of literature is borne out by his biographers:

”وقدرناه (ابن حجر) حباقة من الفضلاء والادباء السلاء منهم الاديب شهاب الدين ابوالطيب (1)

1 ”حمد“

2 ”وعى نالاد كثيرا حتى صار احد اعانه“

3 ”وعى نالاد كثيرا الى ان تقدم فيه“

4 ”كان عالما فاضلا نازعا في الادب“

”وعى نالاد كثيرا حتى صار اوحد اهل زمانه و تميز في فنون لكة
محر ماعدا الادب منها“ 2

(6) يا واحد العصر و من فضله كالصبح في سرى و في معرب
ويا سهانا فاق شمس الصبح في كل معنى قد سقى معرب 6

”واقبل على من الادب و هجر ماعداه حتى علب عليه وفاق فيه“

(8) 5 ”وطار صيته في من الادب“

7 ”وصفه (ابن حجر) نال الشيخ الفاضل العلامة فخر المدرسين عمده البلاء“

8 ”والعلامة فريد الادباء الشهاب الحجارى“ (10)

Al-Hijāzī was born in a literary age which was extraordinarily active and productive. Such authors and writers as Ibn-Khaldūn (732-808 A H), al-Maqrīzī (766-845 A H), Ibn-Hajar (773-852 A H), Ibn Taghrī Birdī (813-874 A.H.), al-Qalqashandī (d 821 A H.) and as-Suyūṭī (849-911 A H) to some of whom the authorship of hundreds of works is ascribed, flourished in that period. This is not the proper place to mention the works of the encyclopædic writers of this age. Nevertheless, al-Hijāzī's devotion to literature and his scholarly works give him a high place among the illustrious poets and notable men of letters of his time.

1 *Lahẓa'l Alhāẓ* by Ibn-Fahd, p 339

2 *Husn al-Muhādḍara*

3 *Naẓm al-'Iqyān*.

4 Ibn-Iyās *Tārīkh Miṣr*, Vol II, p 125

5 *Shadharāt*, Vol. VII, p 319

6 Qāḍī al-'Asqalānī (d 876 A H) pays glowing tribute to al-Hijāzī's literary excellence in a poem which he wrote in the lifetime of al-Hijāzī. See *Naẓm al-'Iqyān*, p 33

7 *Aḍ-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, Vol II, p 148

8 *Ibid*, Vol IX, p. 23

Al-Hijāzī was conscious of his high merits, poetical talents and literary eminence. At the same time he was sure of his reward, that he would not be forgotten by the coming generations. He says

قالوا اذا لم يحلف ميت ذكرا يسى فقلت لهم في بعض اسعاري
بعد الممات اصيحاني ستدكرني بما احلف من اولاد افكاري¹

Al-Hijāzī was very fond of puzzles and enigmas. His two letters to ash-Shihāb at-Tāib show that enigmatical writings were liked in literary circles in those days. A book of al-Hijāzī on this subject shows how skilful in this art he was.

In addition to his educational and literary achievements, his constant study, writing, and good hand, al-Hijāzī held a high position in society. His agreeable conversation and pleasing manners won for him a wider circle of friends and associates. He was never sad and morose, nor depressed and unsociable. But on the other he was witty and sociable with a vast knowledge of *Nawādir*.² He was known for his simple habits, he disliked affectation and possessed many other good qualities.³ His letters and poems tell us of his friendly relations with the authorities and scholars.

In the month of Ramadān, 815 A.H., al-Hijāzī wrote a letter to ash-Sharīf Sulāh ad-Dīn al-Uyūti (783-859 A.H.) in which he complains of imposthumes and boils from which he suffered so badly that he spent ten restless days and sleepless nights.⁴

In 826 A.H. he completed his literary work the *Rawd al-Ādāb*, an anthology containing the poems of the ancients as well as of the moderns, including some of his own composition, and prose passages in a most polished and elegant style.

In 840 A.H., al-Hijāzī copied *التنصير والتذكير في علم الحديث السري*, known as *الفه المالك* by his teacher Abu'l-Fadl al-'Iraqi, which is preserved in Berlin.

In 843 A.H. he made a pilgrimage to Mecca.

In 850 A.H. he wrote the *Hāshiyāt ash-Shifā* in which he explained the obscure words occurring in the book *ash-Shifā fi Huqūq Mustafā*, by Qādī 'Iyād.

In 852 A.H. he composed an elegy on the death of his teacher, the great critic and historian Ibn Hajar, in which al-Hijāzī pays homage to the memory of the encyclopædic writer of the age. The elegy, for all its beauty of style and exquisite and polished language, is, in its subject and the

1 *Aḍ-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, Vol. II, p. 148.

2 *Tārīkh Miṣr*, Vol. II, p. 125, *aḍ-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, Vol. II, p. 148.

3 *Shadharāt*, Vol. VII, p. 319.

4 *Nazm al-'Iqyān*, p. 66.

- (19) حاشية الشما
 (20) معارحه الساء والارض A copy is preserved in Berlin
 (21) معارحه النيل والبحر . A poetical composition preserved in Berlin
 (22) بيل الراءدس النيل الراءد . A record of the ebb and flow of the Nile from the beginning of the Muslim era up to al-Hijāzī's time. Copies are preserved in London, Paris, Aya Sufiya and Bankipur Books No 3 and 13 seem to be identical with it.
 (23) تحمىس الرده
 (24) كتاب بواذر الاحار وطرائف الاسعار
 (25) كتاب الحمقاء والمعلمين لاس الحورى was alphabetically arranged by al-Hijāzī

II

NAWĀDIR AL-AKHBĀR

Now we turn to the unique MS. of the *Nawādir-al Akhbār* preserved in the Panjab University Library

The work has not been mentioned by the authors consulted by me.

As-Sakhāwī (831-902 A H), a contemporary of al-Hijāzī gives the latter's biography in *ad-Daw'al-Lāmi*¹ and mentions some of his works, but takes no notice of this work

As-Suyūṭī (1445-1505 A D), also a contemporary of our author, takes notice of al-Hijāzī in the *Husn-u'l-Muhādara*² and the *Nazmu'l 'Iqyān*,³ and gives a long list of his works, but unfortunately the present work escapes his notice

Ibn-Iyās⁴ (d. 930 A H) and Ibnu'l 'Imād⁵ (d. 1089 A H), the great historians, mention some of his works, but ignore this book

The great bibliographer Hājī Khalifa (d. 165 A D) too, who flourished about two hundred years later, seems to be unaware of its existence. In his great work Hājī Khalifa mentions more than a dozen books on varied subjects by al-Hijāzī, but the list does not include the book before us

1 Vol II, pp 147-8

2 Vol I, p 246

3 pp 63-77

4 *Tārīkh Miṣr*, Vol II, p 125

5 *Shadharāt*, Vol VII, p 319

The Imperial Library, Berlin, the Vienna Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, do not seem to possess it, though they contain other works of al-Hijāzī

Even Brockelmann,¹ C. Huart,² Jirjī Zaydān,³ and Sarkīs⁴ also seem to possess no knowledge of the existence of this manuscript. All these mention al-Hijāzī's works but say nothing of the *Nawādir-u'l-Akhhbār*

The manuscript in question which is entitled *بوادير الاحار و طرائف الاسعار* is neatly written, though at some places incorrect, and is dated Muḥarram, 1031 A H, i.e. a century and a half after the death of al-Hijāzī. The name of the scribe is Muhammad ibn 'Umar b. Nuru'd-Dīn al-Ahdab.

As to the genuineness of the present manuscript, fortunately the title-page, which very distinctly bears the name of the author, Shihābu'd-Dīn Ahmad al-Hijāzī, and the name of the copyist at the end, leave no doubt as to its authenticity. Why should some one else ascribe his own work to al-Hijāzī?

Moreover it was very common to write on *Nawādir* from the earliest times, and al-Hijāzī's contemporaries too have left their works on *Nawādir*. He was also noted for *Nawādir*, as Ibn Iyās⁵ remarks *وكان طريفا، لطيف الداب، كثير الوادر*

The manuscript is in a good state of preservation and the text may almost everywhere be established without any great difficulty, with the exception of a few passages which could not be established without recourse to parallel texts in other works.

THE SUBJECT

The *Kitāb an-Nawādir al-Akhhbār wa Zarā'if al-Ash'ār* deals with various subjects. In the words of the author⁶ *“و بعد فهذه بوادر و طرف و محاسن و تحف، محتلمه التريب، يسرح في ربا صها كل باهر اديب،”*

At the time of compilation the author seems to have kept in view books like the *‘Uyūn al-Akhhbār* of Ibn-Qutayba and the *‘Iqd* of Ibn-‘Abdi-Rabbih

It is a very useful work for the student of Arabic literature. In so small a work the author has condensed much useful matter. The work

¹ *Geschichte der Arabischen*, Vol. II, p. 18

² *A History of Arabic Literature*, p. 356

³ *Tārīkh-u-Adab al-Lughat al-‘Arabiyyah*, Vol. III, p. 126

⁴ *The Mu‘jam al-Maṭbū‘āt*

⁵ *Tārīkh-u-Miṣr*, Vol. II, p. 125

⁶ MS ff 1 b, 2 a

introduces the student to the beauty of the Arabic language and anecdotal writings, and at the same time creates in him a love for Arabic literature. The main point is that this book keeps the reader fresh and untired because of the variety of its subjects. A glance at the table of contents which I have prepared will show the reader that the maxim 'variety is the essence of life' has not been ignored at any stage by the author.

I	II	III
العلم	عقوبه بعض الصالحين	من آداب افلاطون
المساورة والرأى	فصلها	من آداب ارسطاطاليس
الهوى والعقل	العلم	من آداب ديوجانس الحكيم
السياسة	حطه على على وفاة ابى نكر	من آداب افقراط الحكيم
اوقات الحرب	ماعلى العمال	من آداب حاليسوس
صحه السلطان و آدابها	احلاق الملك	من آداب نطليموس
الحاحم	صه على	من حكم حكاء اليونانيين
تعليم الاولاد	اولاده	الرهه
المحبه والموده	الولده الحكيم	قصه اس بن مالك مع
المعائنه	العناء والفر	الحجاج
الريارة والتلاى	الصبر والتسليم والقناعة	قصه خالد بن صفوان مع
الس: كتابه واعلانه	من آداب هرمس الحكيم	ابى العباس السفاح

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BOOK

Here it will not be out of place to give translation of some passages from the book which may help the reader to understand its nature.

First of all the author quotes a saying of Khuraym about the state of blissful life. The first essential of a blissful life, he says, is Peace and tranquillity, for a fearful and timid person seldom enjoys life. The second thing is : Health, because, according to him there is no interest in life for the sick. The third and the last component of the blissful life, in his opinion, is Youth, for an old man becomes disgusted with life ¹

¹ MS (f 2a) Compare *al-Kāmil*, Vol I, page 328, *Kitābul-Ādāb* by Ja'far, pp 19, 59, *Tadhkirah* of Ibn Hamdūn, p 9, and Mas'ūdī's *Murūj* V 328

A word to kings

Al-Hijāzī says that the most essential things for a king are —

(a) Counsel

He deduces his argument from the fact that the last of the Prophets (may God bless them all!), being the most superior man in intellect and wisdom, always receiving guidance from the Almighty, took counsel in order to bring home to the world the advantages of counsel and consultation.¹ Our author concludes that the greatest advantage, besides having the confidence of the people, is that it is not only the king who is to blame if the result is unexpected, but that the responsibility becomes divided. He further illustrates this point by quoting the saying of a sage

A man cannot do without counsel, no matter how great be his wisdom, just as a lady cannot do without a husband, no matter how pious and chaste she be

(b) Prudence

For this quality he explains that it is the slow and steady who wins the race.²

(c) Reward and punishment.

A king must adopt a policy of reward and punishment. Both these must go hand in hand. If either of the two is disregarded, the State is likely to suffer evil consequences.³

(d) Forbearance.

At the same time, he says, the most esteemed thing in the sight of God is a king's forbearance and kindness.⁴

Al-Hijāzī tells us what persons should have immediate access to a king.

Says a Governor. Four persons must have immediate access to a ruler. —

1. The man who comes at night, for the business must be of great importance which urged him to visit a king at night.

2. The messenger from the frontier side; for a minute's delay can upset the whole state of affairs

3. The man who calls for prayer.

4. The bearer.⁵

1 (f 2b) Compare Nuwairi's *Nihāya*, Vol VI 69, and *Tahrir-ul-Ahkām fī Tadbīr-i-Ahl Islam* by Badrud-Din in *Islamica* Band VI, Heft 4, p 406

2 (ff 2b, 3a) Compare *Kalīla*, p 249 ed. Egypt 1927

3 (f 3a) (f 3b)

4 (f 5a)

5 (f 5b) Compare *al-'Iqd*, Vol I, page 23, *al-Kāmil*, I 170.

According to al-Hijāzī these qualities are as indispensable for a king as a husband for a lady, a father for a child, a teacher for a student, and a commander for an army.

After dropping some more hints about the policy of rulers, our author advises the people and gives certain suggestions as to how one is to behave towards a ruler. He says: "Nothing can be had from a king or a woman by force and severity. It is only by humility and gentleness that one can win the favour of a king."¹

Education and Learning

This book also throws light on the things to which the Umayyads attached greater importance in connection with the education of their children, and what were their tendencies.

The general saying was: "All that is incumbent upon fathers in connection with the education of their sons is to teach them writing, swimming, and mathematics."²

Hajjāj, the famous governor under the Umayyads, said to his sons' tutor: "Teach swimming to my sons before you teach them writing, for they may find writers for them, but they cannot find swimmers in their stead."³

Sulaimān, son of 'Abdul-Malik, the renowned Umayyad caliph, said to the tutor of his sons: "Teach poetry to my sons, for it is a sort of soundness for their wisdom, intelligence for their brains, liberality in their hands, and an addition to their glory. Keep them at a distance from the low, because they are the worst of mankind as regards etiquette, and bring them in close contact with the nobles that they may acquire their habits."⁴

It was said: "The only thing that a son owes to his father is not to cut off the ties of relationship with those with whom his father had been on good terms."⁵

It was said to Alexander: "Why do you respect your teacher more than your father?" He replied: "My father is the cause of my death while my teacher is the source of my life."⁶

It was asked of a Persian sage: "Does it behove an old man to learn?" He said: "If it behoves him to live, it behoves him to learn."⁶

1 (f 4b) (ff 4b, 5a) Compare 'Uyūn-al Akhbār, I 19

2 (f 5b) Compare Uyūn, II 166

3 (ff 5b, 6a) Compare Lubab-ul-Ādāb p. 230

4 (f 6a)

5 (f 15b)

6 (f 16b) Compare Al-'Iqd, I, 141

It is said that there is no phrase more incentive to learning than that of 'Alī The predecessors have left nothing for their successors ¹

The common saying is He who wants to command respect must learn grammar ²

Christ was asked How far should one study ? He replied As long as one lives

A certain sage said Everything has life and death. The life of learning is discussion and its death is forgetfulness

'Alī remarked Knowledge is better than wealth, for you guard wealth while knowledge guards you. Spending diminishes wealth but increases knowledge Masters of treasures are no more, but the learned men are alive as long as the world lasts ³

A man advised his son saying Acquire learning, for the first fruit will be that you will never feel lonely ⁴

An old man wanted to study philosophy but felt ashamed A wise man said to him Do you feel ashamed that you would become better in old age than you were in youth ? ⁵

Friendship

As to friendship, al-Hijāzī produces different views of scholars and sages He quotes the saying of a certain wise man

He who always expects sincerity from a friend is never pleased, and he who seeks a flawless friend finds none, and he who reproaches his friends at every fault increases his foes ⁶

Then al-Hijāzī quotes many authorities in support of this theory and concludes

You want a flawless friend, but let me know, if you have ever seen a stick burning without smoke ⁷

After this al-Hijāzī produces the arguments of a party that believed in no friendship Their formula is Friendship and alchemy never existed ⁸

Discussing the obligations and duties of friends, our author quotes certain verses stating

1 (f 17a) Compare *al-'Iqd*, I 141

2 (f 17b)

3 (18a, 18b) Compare *'Uyūn-ul-Akhhbār* II 120 *al-'Iqd*, I 142, *Nahj-ul-Balāghah*, II, 93, 94

4 (f 18b)

5 (f 18b)

6 (f 7a), Compare *Wafayāt* I 187

7 (f 7b) Compare *Tughrā'i's Diwān*, p 68, *Sharh Lāmīyat* 'i 'Ajam' Vol I, p. 203

8 (f 7b), Compare *Ibn Iyās's Tārīkh Miṣr*, II 30, *Nafahāt-ul-Yaman*, p 162

When true friendship is established, nothing of the nature of distance or other hindrances should debar a friend from visiting the other ¹

Miscellaneous.

'Ali said Have patience ¹ For it is the resort of the prudent and the grieved.²

It is said · Forbearance brings in its wake reward and praise, while rudeness brings sin and dispraise ³

It is said to be written in the Old Testament . He who has an impious neighbour and does not enjoin upon him good, is his partner ⁴

It was asked of a person . What is the incurable disease ? He replied · A bad neighbour Whereupon he was asked What is the remedy ? He said Either dispose of the house and change the neighbourhood, or have patience and lead a dog's life.⁵

Plato was asked " In what way should a man lead his life so that he may fear no hunger ? He replied " If the man is a well-to-do person he should curtail his expenditures, and if he is poor he should practise some craft ⁶

Socrates said A wise man ought not to be too happy because of his wealth, nor should he feel any grief for want of it But his real wealth, which is a source of permanent pleasure to him, is his wisdom and good deeds, for he is sure that his deeds will not go unrewarded, nor will he be punished for any other's deeds ⁷

A certain wise man remarked Oppression and prosperity cannot exist together ⁸

Socrates said It is better to reform the subjects than to reform the army.⁹

It is said · An act of generosity can win over an enemy, while oppression may turn a friend into a foe ¹⁰

" Keep a secret hidden from your friend which you dislike to disclose to your enemy Perchance he may become your enemy some day "¹¹

1 (f 10a)

2 (f 21b)

3 (f 22a)

4 (f 16a)

5 (f 22a)

6 (f 23a)

7 (f 24a)

8 (f 39b)

9 (f 40a)

10 (f 40b)

11 (f 40b)

"A noble man, when called upon, shows gentleness, while a base fellow, when called upon shows rudeness"¹

It is a truism that the proverbs and anecdotes of a people or country expose their innermost mentality and attitude towards certain things. Our author quotes certain Greek philosophers and their sayings. These sayings help us to a great extent to understand their angle of vision about certain matters.

A philosopher says: Prosperity is the motherland, poverty a foreign country, greediness slavery, and contentment freedom.²

A certain philosopher, observing one of his pupils staring at a beautiful lady said, "Why are you looking at her?" The pupil replied, "I ponder over her beauty." The philosopher answered, "Most harmful is ignorance and most injurious a woman."³

A philosopher seeing a lady perfuming herself remarked, "She is adding fuel to fire."⁴

Aristotle says: "Forbearance is a guard against a fool, a defence against the plots of the enemy, and a shield against the rancours of a malignant person."⁵

A Greek philosopher observing a beautiful lady remarked: "Little of good, and much of evil."⁶

He saw a man teaching a girl and said: "O teacher! do not increase evil in evil."⁷

A philosopher noticed a lad resembling his father, and remarked: "You bear witness to the chastity of your mother."⁸

Another Greek sage observed: "Wisdom is a tree which grows in the heart and bears fruit on the tongue."⁹

A man advised his son and said: "O my beloved son! it is better for you to be in good company even if you have to lead a hard life than in bad company which affords you an easy life."¹⁰

1 (f 40b)

2 (f 41 b)

3 (f 41b)

4 (f 41b)

5 (f 43a)

6 (f 44b)

7 (f 44b)

8 (f 44b)

9 (f 45 b)

10 (f 46a)

A Greek philosopher says . " Three things, if you do not control them, will oppress you They are Your son, your wife, and your slave " ¹

Another important feature of this work lies in the fact that in it al-Hijāzī has tried to bring about a reconciliation between the two sects of Islam, viz , the Shī'a and the Sunnī. Whether there was any controversy or not between these two sects, al-Hijāzī wanted to bridge the ever-widening gulf of difference between them

The method adopted by al-Hijāzī is very excellent. It seems that to him this difference was only a line of demarcation between Abū-Bakr and ' Umar on one side and 'Alī and his house on the other Without giving a hint about his aim and without mentioning any argument in favour of or against any party, he proceeds with anecdotes relating to the position of 'Alī and his house in Islam, and at the same time tells from the mouth of 'Alī how great were the services which Abū-Bakr and ' Umar rendered to the cause of Islam Al-Hijāzī also relates that certain people were severely punished by the lord of justice for speaking ill of Abū-Bakr and ' Umar He further illustrates how great was the love which 'Alī bore for Abū-Bakr and ' Umar On hearing certain persons speaking ill of Abū-Bakr and ' Umar, 'Alī punished them severely and some of them he banished, declaring .

" Abū-Bakr and ' Umar are the leaders of righteousness, following in whose footprints is essential after the Prophet."

The Nawādir al-Akhhār contains some historical references Here I shall not discuss their authenticity I shall select only one passage which refers to an incident in the reign of 'Abdul-Malik, son of Marwān, the father-caliph of the Umayyads Anas, son of Mālīk, the servant of the Prophet Muhammad (may God bless him!), complained to the caliph of the ill-treatment which he had received at the hands of Hajjāj Those who are aware of the services of Hajjāj to the Umayyad House will be surprised to know that no sooner did the caliph hear of it than he lost his temper and at once wrote to Hajjāj rebuking him as if he was a child, and threatening him in very harsh terms if he did not ask Anas's pardon.

This passage corrects a false impression of the Umayyads, who are supposed to have had little regard for religion

ABDUL QAYYUM.

1 (ff 47b, 48a)

THE POSTAL SYSTEM DURING THE MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA

THE pioneer of the most regular official postal system in India was Hajjāj bin Yūsuf Thaqafī, the Governor of Iraq. He wrote every third day letters to Muhammad ibn Qāsim,¹ the conqueror of Sind, who received them from Iraq in his military camps of Sind on the seventh day.² This transmission of letters was made on horses, which were exclusively trained for the purpose. At a certain stage there were posts, where fresh horses were changed to cross the distance rapidly. In the second century A.H., when the Arabs prospered in trade and grew familiar with the sea-routes, the following posts were fixed. From Basra to the island of Kharak, from Kharak to the isle of Lawan, and from Lawan to Sind.³ In 375 Bashshārī Muqdisī met an ambassador of the Amīr of Mansūrah at the court of 'Izz ad-Dawlah in Shiraz. 'Izz ad-Dawlah and the Amīr of Mansūrah exchanged correspondence through this ambassador. The postal system made by 'Izz ad-Dawlah was probably also in vogue in Sind. The wide conquests of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī impelled him to make a very efficient arrangement of the postal services throughout his empire. The postal services under him consisted of two kinds: (1) Foot-messengers called *سرطان* by Farishta,⁴ and (2) mounted couriers called Askudars or Usqudars, by Baihāqī⁵ and Khail Tāshān (*حیل تاشان*) by Farishta.⁶ Foot-messengers were sometimes very useful in the discharge of their duty. When Ilak Khān made a sudden attack on Khorāsān, Sultān Mahmūd was at that time engaged in waging wars in India. The news of the sudden attack was transmitted to Sultān Mahmūd through a foot-messenger who reached India with extraordinary speed.⁷ Important communications were conveyed by mounted couriers. Special messages were carried by special messengers, who were generally chosen from Arab

¹ Balādhurī, p. 442

² *Tuhfat'ul Kirm*, Vol. III, p. 3, Bombay edition

³ Ibn-Khurdādhbih, p. 57

⁴ Farishta, p. 25, Lucknow edition

⁵ Baihāqī, p. 139; vide also *Mhamūd of Ghazna* by M. Nazim, p. 146

⁶ Farishta, Vol. p. 25

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25

horsemen, and were paid for each journey in addition to their usual salary¹ The chief of the postal system was called Sāhib-i-Barīd, whose duty was to superintend the efficient arrangement of the system as well as to keep the Sultān in touch with the important affairs of the province He also reported the conduct of provincial officers and commanders²

The Sāhib-i-Barīd (Master of the Post), which was a post of great importance and confidence, was placed at the headquarters of every province³ Only trustworthy officers of the Sultān were appointed to it Some of the ministers of Sultān Mahmūd like Abul-'Abbās Fadl ibn Ahmad and Abū-'Alī Hasan ibn Muhammad held this post before their elevation to the Vizierate⁴ The Sāhib-i-Barīd submitted his report in a cipher, which he had previously arranged with the Sāhib-i-Risālat (Head of the Correspondence Department)⁵ This postal arrangement failed when there was a rebellion against the Sultān The rebel officers either forced the local Sāhib-i-Barīd to send false reports or waylaid the mounted couriers or foot-messengers In such circumstances "the Sāhib-i-Barīd took precautions to send information through secret agents who, disguised as travellers, traders, Sufis or apothecaries, carried the news-letter sewn into the saddle-cloth or hidden in the soles of their shoes or the handles of implements of daily use, specially made hollow for this purpose"⁶

The postal system of the Ghaznavid was perhaps, with some changes, followed by the Ghorid We find very scanty references to the postal system of the Slave Kings of Delhi in contemporary chronicles, except the terms of دھارو (Dhāwa), الاع (Ulāgh) قاصد (Qāsīd), who were the transmitting postal agencies They usually carried letters to the fighting forces on different fronts For example, when Balban was leading an attack on Jajnagar, he instructed the Governor of Lakhnauti to send on to the army three or four times every week full particulars of any news which might arrive from Delhi

Describing further the same expedition, Baranī, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, says that when the soldiers grew disgusted with the difficult and weary marches, many of them drew up their wills and sent them to their homes, and their near and dear relations exchanged correspondence through Ulāgh (الاع) and قاصد (messenger)⁷

1 *Baihaqī*, p. 139

2 *Ibid.*, p. 346

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 165, 423, etc

4 *Ibid.*, p. 166

5 *Ibid.*, 541

6 *Vide Mahmūd of Ghazna* by M. Nazim For references *vide* *Baihaqī*, pp. 27, 493, 522, 523

7 *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī* by Dī'ā'uddin Baranī, pp. 87, 88, Calcutta text الاع means horse-messenger In فاطم برهان, the meaning of this word is as follows قاصد و بیک را گرید واسپسے کہ در راهها محبة قاصد ان گدارند

'Alā'uddīn had an extensive empire, so he required an elaborate postal system to maintain the peace of his kingdom and security of his expeditionary forces. The organisation was officially called *محکمہ برید* (Mahkama-e-Barīd). The head of this department was called Malik Barīd-e-Mamālīk (ملک برید ممالک) and his assistant Malik Nā'ib Barīd-e-Mamālīk (ملک نائب برید ممالک).¹

Diā'uddīn Baranī, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, writes "When 'Alā'uddīn sent an army on an expedition he established, from the first stage, which was Talpat, to the destination of his army, Thāna (تھانا) wherever it could be maintained. At every stage, he stationed horses of the Ulāgh (اسپاہ الاغ) and at every half or quarter Kuroh (کروہ) runners were deputed (دھواگاہ شسیدی)² and in every town or place where the horses of the Ulāgh were stationed, officers and reporters were appointed. They reported the progress of the army to the Sultān everyday or after two or three days, and the intelligence of the health of the sovereign was transmitted to the army. This prevented false news from being circulated in the city or in the army. The securing of accurate information from the Court on one side and the army on the other was of great public benefit."³ This version of Baranī has been quoted by Nizām'uddīn Ahmad, the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*,⁴ in the following words "Whenever Sultān 'Alā'uddīn sent an army to any side he stationed at every stage from Delhi to the destination of the army, Dāk Chawki, which in former times was called Yām (یام). At every Kuroh he appointed speedy foot-messengers called in India pykes. And in every town and city he appointed a writer to report to the king the occurrences of every day."

When the efficiency of this system was impaired, the state was put to great trouble and inconvenience. For instance, when Malik Kafūr, entitled Malik Nā'ib, was engaged in expeditions against the rulers of Arangal in the Deccan, 'Alā'uddīn was constantly kept in touch with the military operation of Kafūr. But during its course, the mutiny of the soldiers of Telang disturbed the postal communications and 'Alā'uddīn could not get any news from Arangal for a few days. He grew worried and in his extreme anxiety sent Malik Qarā Bag and Qādī Mughīthuddīn to Shaikh Nizām'uddīn, to ask his benediction and enquire from him the fate of his army fighting in the enemy's land. The holy Shaikh had an inspired call from within, and told the Qādī.

ورائے این فتح فتحہائے دیگر بیر متواقع اس

¹ Baranī, p. 390

² Dhāwāh is a corrupted form of the Sanskrit word Dhawak from the root Dhawa, which means to run on. Dhawak means 'a runner'. But the word Dhawa, used by Baranī and others, signifies invariably 'runner' as well as 'post' and 'post-houses'.

³ Ibid., pp. 330, 331

⁴ *Tabaqāt Akbarī*, Vol. I, p. 166, Farishta (Vol. p. 119) quotes Nizām'uddīn verbatim, except with the variation that "at every Kurōh he ('Alā'uddīn) appointed two speedy foot-messengers called in India pykes." I failed to get the word (Yām) in any history of the pre-Mughal period. The distance from one part to another is recorded by Nizām'uddīn and Farishta as one Kurōh. Baranī says it was half or one fourth a part.

“ Beside this victory other victories are also expected. ” ‘Alā’-uddīn was pleased to hear this, and became assured of the conquest of Arangal. In the same afternoon, letters which conveyed the true and glad tidings of the conquest of Arangal, were received from Malik Nā’ib through the Ulāghs (الاعوان) ¹

Sultān Qutb’uddīn is generally described as a ruler soaked in wine and debauchery. His administration is a history of chaos and disorder, but it is strange to find that the postal system of the period was in very good order. The postal route from Daulatabad to Delhi at this period is vividly described in Ibn-Battūta’s *Travels*. He writes “ Daulatabad is situated from Delhi at a distance of forty days, and on either side of the road leading to it . . . trees are planted. The passers-by feel the atmosphere of gardens in the course of their journey. In between each mile there are three Dāwāhs, (دوارات) (meaning post-houses). In every Dāwāh, passers-by can get necessary things as if they were in a market. This road goes likewise to Telangana and Ma’bar, and it takes six months to reach there. At every stage there is a royal residence and a rest-house for the travellers ” ² The facility and comforts of the routes helped travellers to cross long distances very swiftly. When Malik Khusrō adopted a rebellious attitude against Sultān Qutb’uddīn by giving himself an air of independence in Ma’bar, the nobles of the court forced him to retreat to Delhi. Khusrō was sent on a palanquin, and he reached Delhi in seven or eight days. ³ When Prince Muhammad, entitled Ulugh Khān, was conducting military campaigns in Arangal in 721 A.H., his father Ghuyāth’uddīn Tughlaq had arranged to receive letters from the Deccan and to despatch replies twice a week. This arrangement was disturbed by some mischief-mongers, and Ulugh Khān failed to get any news from his father for about a month. ⁴ Irresponsible men in the army spread the rumour that the king was dead and the throne of Delhi was in possession of some other ruler. There was a mutiny in the army and Ulugh Khān had to retreat post-haste to Deogir. But very soon letters were received from Delhi carrying the happy news that the king was alive. Baranī has given a long description of the disorder created in Ulugh Khān’s army due to the absence of every kind of news from the Imperial City. The latter part of Baranī’s statement is echoed in the following words of Khwāja Nizam’uddīn Ahmad, the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* “ At this juncture Dāk Chawkī, which in the terminology of those people was called Ulāgh, was received from Delhi, bearing the Farmān that Sultān Ghuyāth’uddīn was alive and well and was, as usual, on the throne of Delhi ” ⁵

1 Baranī, pp 331, 332, *Tabaqāt Akbarī*, Vol I, p 166, Farishta, p 119

2 *Rihlah* by Ibn-Battūta, Vol II, p 33, Egypt edition

3 Baranī, p 400 Farishta, Vol I, p 126, *Tabaqāt Akbarī*, Vol I, p 181

4 Baranī’s words are (pp 447, 448) , راه الاعوان و دهانه نکلی قطع شد و هر کس سرحد گریخت

5 *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Vol I, p 195, Calcutta text

When Ulugh Khān succeeded his father, bearing the title of Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq, he excelled his predecessors by making the most efficient and regular provision for the postal system Ibn-Battūta, the itinerant historian, who remained in the service of Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq for eight years, writes of the postal system of the period "The distance from Siwastan to Multan is of ten days, and it takes fifty days to reach Delhi from Multan. The letters of the news-writer reached the king through the post in five days. The postal system is called رید (Barid) in this country. It is of two kinds, mounted couriers and foot-messengers. The mounted couriers are called اولاق (Ulāq).¹ After each four miles, the horses are changed. Horses are maintained by the State. For foot-messengers, there is the following arrangement. In between one mile, which is called Kurōh, there are three posts. This post is called دار (Dāwah).² At each third of a mile there is a populated village, outside of which there are built tower-houses for the runners. In every tower-house runners are found ready to depart. Every runner has a rod two yards long. Bells made of bronze are attached to the rod. When the runner leaves the village, he holds the letters in one hand and the rod in the other, and runs with all speed. The succeeding runner keeps himself ready by hearing the noise of the bells. He takes the letters and sets off. In this way letters are carried to their respective destinations. This kind of post is speedier than the horse-post. Some times fresh fruits are conveyed for the king from Khurāsān. It is by this channel also that great criminals are transported on cot. When I was in Daulatabad, water from the Ganges, which is a sacred river for the Hindus, was also conveyed to the king by this postal process. The Ganges was located from Daulatabad at the distance of forty days. The intelligencers also write to the king in detail about the arrival of a stranger. The king takes full notice of the information. The writers fully describe the stranger, his dress, the number of his companions, servants and beasts, as well as his movements and gestures. Every particular is duly communicated.³ The author of *Masālik-ul-Absār* (died in 749 A.H.), a foreigner, but a contemporary of Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq, informs us of a very ingenious system of news-agency in the Sultān's period. He writes that "all through the country, which separates the two capitals of the empire, Delhi and Deogir, the Sultān has had drums placed at every post-station. When any event occurs in a city or when the gate of one is opened or closed, the drum is instantly beaten, and in this manner the Sultān is daily and exactly informed at what time the gates of the most distant cities are opened and closed."⁴

1 Baranī, as we have studied previously, calls it اولاق (Ulāgh). محاسن فی ماہم درست است رهاں فاطمہ.

2 Baranī and other historians write دھارو.

3 Adapted from *Rihla* (Egypt edition), pp. 2, 3, and the Urdu translation by M. Hussain, pp. 2, 3.

4 Elliot, Vol. III, p. 582. Dr. I. H. Qureshi of Delhi University suggests that the drums could not have been intended to inform the Sultān of the closing and opening of the gates, but the kettle-drums were established so that an alarm sounded in a far-off frontier town could quickly reach the Sultān. (*Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, p. 199).

The drum-beaters were trained how to beat drums for a certain event. The news of victory, defeat, sudden invasion of the enemy, rebellion, murder, plunder, birth of a prince, death, marriage or important functions were thus relayed by particular kinds of beating of drums

Abu'l-'Abbās Ahmad Qalqashandī, another foreigner (died in 821 A H), while making a critical study of Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq's postal system writes in his *Subh'al-A'sha* (صبح الا عشی) "The organisation of the correspondence department of the Sultān is very excellent. It is of different kinds. For example, from amongst the public, some persons are authorised to be acquainted with the general condition of the people. They report to their superior officers every kind of news, which are ultimately carried to the king. The arrangement of conveying news rapidly to the king is highly commendable. Houses are built on routes leading from different parts of the country to the imperial palace. This has helped to make the provision of the postal system very efficient, like that in Egypt and Syria. In the latter countries the postal system is better because populated localities are not far from one another, but the case of India is different. The inhabited localities are distantly situated there. In spite of this difficulty, there has been constructed a house at every four furlongs. And ten runners on each post are appointed to reach from one place to another. They convey letters, imperial orders, and other things from one end to another at full speed. And by the same process, the mail is carried to the imperial palace In the postal routes there are situated mosques, markets, and wells, in proper places"¹

The above statement is corroborated by native historians also. The author of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (compiled eighty years after Sultān Muhammad's death) writes, "In 727 A H. Sultān Muhammad started for Deogir. He established Dhāwāh (posts) at each Kurōh from Delhi to Deogir and gave lands to the men. The income from these lands was equal to their salary, and they carried mail from one Dhāwāh to another.² At every stage a small palace was constructed and a monastery also, which was placed in charge of a Shaikh. Provisions were made for travellers, so that they might get food, drink, and betel-leaves at any time they arrived there. On either sides of the roads there were planted trees, which exist to this day."

¹ *Subh'al A sha*, Vol V, p 98, vide the Urdu extract in *Ma'ārif* (the Journal of Shibli Academy, Azamgarh. Vol No 21, No 6, 26, No 6.

² Here the Persian version is very ambiguous. It says (pp 98, 99) Calcutta text وهر الاعی که ماند در کھت بر شاند بر مرکز انه دھاوہ بدھاوہ بر ساند. The above statement has been recorded by Mullā, 'Abdul-Qādir Badā'ūnī (a historian of Akbar's period) in the following words: "When the Sultān (i.e. Muhammad Tughlaq) went to Deogir in 727 A H, he stationed at every Kurōh from Delhi to Deogir Dhāwāh (دھاوہ) i.e. news bearer pykes, and at every stage built a house and a monastery, which had a Shaikh. Here food, drink, betel, and all requisites for a guest were available. And guides of either routes were instructed to save travellers from every kind of hardship. The effects of this order were to be seen for many long years"—(*Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Vol I, p 226, Calcutta edition)

There is every reason to believe that Fīrōz Shāh maintained the excellent system of his illustrious predecessor, although the arrangement was sometimes badly disturbed. For example, when he was returning from Bengal he lost his way in the mountains and woods of Jajnagar. For six months he was entirely cut off from Delhi, and no news was received from either side. After a weary journey and arduous march of six months a road was discovered, and the Sultān determined to send an Ulāgh (a horse-messenger) to Delhi. "The Sultān gave public notice," writes Shams Sirāj 'Afif, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrōz Shāhī*, "that all who wished to write to their families and friends might take this opportunity. This gave great satisfaction and every man of the army, from the highest to the lowest, wrote some account of his condition. The letters were sent to the tent of the Sultān, and the number of them was so great that a camel-load of letters was sent to Delhi. When they reached the city the Khān-i-Jahān made great public rejoicing, the letters were piled in a heap before the palace, and all who expected letters were directed to come forward and receive them."¹ The postal system of Fīrōz Shāh was once again disturbed when he was lost along with his army in *Konchi Run*. In Delhi no Ulāgh was received from the imperial army, nor did any one get any letter.² Sikandar Lodi also had an efficient arrangement of the postal services. Khwāja Nizāmuddin Ahmad, the author of the *Tabaqāt Akbarī*, says that the news-agency of Sikandar Lodi gave him such up-to-date information of every home and hearth that people believed that he had some genu as his agents. And whenever the king sent his army in any direction, he issued two farmāns daily to it. One of these reached its destination in the early morning, giving instructions at what place the troops should halt after the days' march, and the other was received at the time of afternoon prayer or in the evening, giving details of the work to be done by the marching troops. The horses of the Dāk Chowkī were always kept in readiness for this. The king received daily and regularly the reports of prices and occurrences in the parganas and the dominions, and if anything went wrong by a hair's breadth in this process, he made an instant inquiry into it.³

Shēr Shāh's postal system has exacted praise from even the historians of the Mughal period. He built at a distance of every one⁴ or two⁵ kos a rest-house, which had two horses and two riders for conveying news quickly⁶ to the different parts of the State.⁷ 'Abbās Khān Shāwānī, the

1 'Afif, pp 172, 173, Calcutta text, *vide* also Elliot, Vol III, p 315

2 *Ibid.*, p 211. The actual words are *الاعی دریں مدت ار لشکر بامده و مکتوب کیے رسیدہ*

3 *Tabaqāt Akbarī*, Vol I, p 337-38, Calcutta, Farishta, Vol I, p 187

4 *Ibid.*, p 337

5 *Tārīkh-i-Shēr Shāhī* by 'Abbās Khān, Elliot, Vol IV, p 417

6 *Ibid.*, Elliot Vol IV 418

7 Nizām-'uddin's version is couched in the following words (Vol II, p 106

و در هر سرائی دو اسب بام که بران هدی اذاک چوکی مشهور است گذاشته بود

author of the *Tārīkh-i-Shēr Shāhī*, says that Shēr Shāh built altogether 1,700 Sarais (rest-houses), but, according to the version of the author of *Nawādir-ul-Hikāyāt*, there were 2,500 Sarais on the roads from Bengal to the Indus alone.¹ If the latter statement is taken to be true, it means that there were 5,000 horses and riders employed in postal services from Bengal to the Indus; otherwise, according to 'Abbās Khān, there were at least 3,400 horses and riders engaged in this service. The journey of the postal-runners was made easier and swifter by the net-work of different roads, which still exist as the monument of Shēr Shāh's glory. The longest road ran from Sonargaon (Bengal) to the Indus,² covering a distance of 1,500 kos. Another road led from Agra to Mandu,³ a third one went from Agra to the fort of Chitor, and a fourth from Lahore to Multan.⁴ These roads, which had shady trees on either side, were admirably connected with all the strategic frontiers, and the postal messengers were thus helped greatly in traversing the long distance very rapidly and quickly. So the news, through the Dāk-Chowkī, reached Shēr Shāh everyday from the Nilab and the extremity of Bengal.⁵ In an emergency, some horsemen rode with incredible speed. Once Husain Tashtdār (ewer-bearer) was sent on some business from Bengal. He went on travelling night and day. Whenever sleep overcame him, he placed himself on a bed, and the villagers carried him along on their shoulders. When he awoke, he again mounted a horse, and went on his way. In this manner he reached Chitor from Gaur in three days. The distance was about 800 miles.⁶

Bābur devised his own postal system, which was elaborate as well as scientific. The details of it may be learnt in his own words:

"On Thursday the 4th of the Latter Rabi' (935 A H), it was settled that Chigmaq Bēg with Shāhī tamghachi's⁷ clerkship, should measure the road between Agra and Kābul. At every 9th Kurōh (circa. 18m), a tower was to be erected 12 garis high, and having a char-dara (four-doored, open-on-all sides), on the top, at every 18th Kuroh (circa. 36m), 6 post-horses were to be kept fastened, and arrangement was to be made for the payment of post-masters and grooms, and for corn. The order was, "If the place where the horses are fastened up, be near a crown-domain, let those there provide for the matters mentioned, if not, let the cost be charged to the Bēg on whose pargana the post-house may

1 Elliot, Vol IV, p 417

2 Ibid, p 417

3 *Tabaqāt Akbarī*, Vol II, p 106

4 Elliot, Vol, IV p 417

5 *Tabaqāt Akbarī*, Vol II p 106

6 Elliot is surprised at this wonderful feat of Husain Tashtberdār, and wants his readers not to believe it, but the authors of *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī*, *Wāq'āt Mushtāqī*, and the *Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī* describe this heroic performance of the horsemen enthusiastically. Vide Elliot, Vol IV, p 418

7 The bearer of the stamp (Tamgha), who by impressing it, gave quittance for the payment of tolls and other dues. Vide *Memoirs of Babur* by A S Beveridge, Vol II, p 629

be. Chigmāq Bēg got out of Agra with Shāhī on that same day ”¹

Bābur always insisted on prompt delivery of messages. Even before he planned the above great strategic road from Agra to Kabul, to facilitate and safeguard the military as well as postal communications, he received messages from the distant provinces of Badakhshān within a month. When Humāyūn was waging war in Badakhshān, Bābur reprimanded him for his carelessness in despatching business by writing to him that it was only a month's journey from Hindustan to Badakhshan, and yet the messengers sent by him (Bābur) took a year to return ²

When Bābur's successors established their rule firmly in India, they developed a full-fledged postal system throughout their dominions. For the sake of convenience we will first study the means and agencies through which letters were transmitted from one end to another, and then the different kinds of staff employed in the department, which was commonly known as Dāk Chowkī

Akbar stationed two horses and several Mewras on main roads at every fifth Kurōh. By this arrangement whenever royal farmāns or letters of noblemen reached a Chowkī, the Mewras conveyed them on a horse to the next Chowkī. According to Farishta, fifty Kurōhs were thus traversed in one day and night. And he adds further, “Intelligence was carried to Ahmedabad, Gujrat from Agra in five days. And whenever a person was sent somewhere by the king or he wanted to reach the royal court, and it was required of him to finish the journey very rapidly, he travelled on horses of the Dāk Chowkī. Four thousand Mewras, who were well-known for their extraordinary rapid pace, were employed in the State. Many a time the Mewras have travelled on foot seven hundred Kurōhs in ten days ”³

The construction of new roads and the tranquillity of routes in Akbar's reign led to the efficient and extensive development of the postal system in

1 *Memoirs of Babur*, by A. S. Beveridge, Vol. II, pp. 629, 630. Bābur adds some notes on Kurōh and garī. A thousand paces (qadam) were equal to one Kurōh, and each garī was six hand-breadths. William Erskine, the author of *Bābur and Humāyūn* makes, on the basis of the smaller gaz of 24 inches, 9 Kurōhs to be 13-14 miles. According to A. S. Beveridge, each garī was equal to 24 inches.

2 *Memoirs of Babur* by A. S. Beveridge, Vol. II 626

3 Farishta, Vol. I, p. 272. This passage of Farishta is rendered by John Briggs in the following words, “Akbar established posts throughout his dominions, having two horses and a set of footmen stationed at every five coss (the Dāk Chowky). They are employed to convey letters on ordinary business or expresses to and from court. The footmen will travel fifty coss within the twenty-four hours, so that letter comes from Agra to Ahmedabad in five days. The distance cannot be less than five hundred miles, and the rate exceeds that of our best regulated posts in India. Four thousand runners were in permanent pay, some of whom, on extraordinary occasions (where there were no posts) have performed a journey seven hundred miles, in ten days, with post horses ” (*History of the Rise of the Mohammedan Power in India*, Vol. II)

Jahāngir's period¹ This facilitated trade and commerce also. Jahāngir received celebrated melons from Karez, Badakhshān and Kabul, grapes from Samarkand as well as Badakhshān, sweet pomegranates from Yazd and the Subacida ones from Farrah, pears from Samarkand and Badakhshān, apples from Kashmir, Kabul, Jalalabad, and Samarkand pineapples from the European sea-ports, and oranges from Bengal. All these fruits were carried for Jahāngir from hand to hand by the foot-messenger of the Dāk Chowkī, and he writes with exultation and surprise that although Karez and Bengal were situated at a distance of 1,400 and 1,000 miles respectively, melons and oranges were received from there in Delhi quite fresh and in good order²

Strange to say, the Muslim rulers of India did not utilize pigeons as news-carriers although they were much in use in Iraq, Syria and Egypt. Jahāngir, however, got some pigeons trained for the purpose, and these trained pigeons transmitted news from Mandu (Malwa) to Burhanpore, ordinarily in one paher (i.e., three hours). But when the weather was bad and rainy they reached Burhanpore in one and a half paher or at most two paher, and some of them got there in four ghari³ (hours).

When Jahāngir died the news of his death was conveyed by Banarsi Das Mehta to Shāhjahān in Junair (Ahmadnagar), which he reached in twenty days⁴. The distance was 1,500 miles. Shāhjahān also maintained his postal system through relays of fast messengers, stationed, as usual, at convenient stages. This helped him to have regular and prompt correspondence from Kabul, Balkh, Badakhshān, and Persia. When Prince Murād was leading the campaign in Balkh, Shāhjahān issued at short intervals from his capital detailed instructions regarding the plan of operations, and chided the prince for his tardiness, if there was any.⁵ Shāhjahān had arranged for his sons, deputed to the viceroyalty of distant provinces, to keep in the court their agents and official news-writers, who might communicate to their chiefs the important news of the court. And when the illness of Shāhjahān in the beginning of September 1657, rang the bell for the duel of succession between his sons, Dārā's immediate move was to suppress all news of his dying father's illness. He therefore appointed guards to watch the ferries and stop all the letters going to his brothers in Bengal, Gujrat, and the Deccan. The official news-writers and

1 Describing the postal system of this period Francisco Pelsaert writes "The king's letters are transmitted with incredible speed, because royal runners are posted in the villages four or five kos apart, taking turn of duty throughout the day and night, and they take over a letter immediately on its arrival, run with it to the next village in a breath, and hand it over to another messenger. So the letter goes steadily on and will travel 80 kos between night and day" (The Remonstrance of Francisco Pelsaert, translated by Moreland as *Jahāngir's India*, p. 58).

2 *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngirī*, pp. 173, 174, 211, Lucknow edition.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 192.

4 *Shāhjahān Nāmah* by Muhammad Ṣāliḥ Kambōḥ Lahaurī, p. 212, Vol. I, Calcutta edition.

5 *Bādshāh Nāmah*, by 'Abdul-Hamid Lahaurī, Vol. II, p. 502.

the agents of the princes were interned, and strictly prohibited from communicating or reporting anything to their masters.¹ This created confusion and disorder throughout the empire. But the people of the city contrived to smuggle letters to the princes, so that Aurangzeb, on his way to Burhanpore from Bider, learnt on the 18th October 1657, from a letter of his agent at Delhi, that Shāhjahān had become helpless, on the 21st came another letter saying that the Emperor's illness was decreasing. A third letter, received on the 22nd, brought news of an opposite tenor - Dārā had become supreme at court and was daily strengthening his position. A secret message of a similar nature from the *Collector of Agra* also reached Aurangzeb at this time.²

Aurangzeb, when he got possession of the Crown, kept a strict supervision over the postal system of his kingdom. According to his orders, the postal runners were bound to cover one Jarīb Kurōh in one Ghari. One Jarīb equalled twenty-five Dhar'a (درعه), and one Dhar'a (درعه) amounted to forty-two fingers, and one Kurōh was equivalent to two hundred Jarībs, which amounted to five thousand Shāhjahānī Dhar'a (درعه شاهجهانی). If any runner failed to cover the appointed distance or reached the destination late, he had to pay one-fourth of his salary as a fine. Runners reached Delhi from Ahmadabad ordinarily in twelve days, but special messengers on extraordinary occasions covered this distance in a week. The Zamindars, Thanadars, and the Faujdārs of the various localities were instructed to keep a watch on runners, and facilitate safe swift journey for them from one post to another. They were also held responsible for any delay of the mails. Each province had a large number of posts. There were for example the following twenty-seven posts (Chowkis) between Ahmadabad and Ajmer: (1) Kali, (2) Adal, (3) Pansar, (4) Jaurang, (5) Mahsama, (6) Bhand, (7) Unj, (8) Sayyedpur, (9) Sated, (10) Jaludi, (11) Palanpur, (12) Shaunri, (13) Dantiwara, (14) Khaunwara, (15) Pantiwara, (16) Bant, (17) Budh Kanan, (18) Dongri, (19) Kodī, (20) Bhilmal, (21) Sount, (22) Torna, (23) Mudra, (24) Jalore, (25) Debadās, (26) Bahurani, (27) Khandab. Sixty-two runners (Mewras) were employed between these posts. Their pay totalled two hundred and fifty-five rupees per month. From Ahmadabad to Bharoach, there were the following sixteen posts: (1) Batwah, (2) Barijari, (3) Khanj, (4) Mahmudabad, (5) Andeej, Salod, (6) Naryad, (7) Boryaee, (8) Hadgod, (9) Basad, (10) Ranauli, (11) Baroda, (12) Hantavi, (13) Karwan, (14) Chaurinda, (15) Karhali, (16) Bharoach. Thirty-five runners, at a total salary of rupees one hundred and eight and annas four per month, were deputed between these posts.³

The royal treasury was also transmitted from different provinces to the Centre through the posts, but unlike the royal mail, it changed posts on

¹ *Ālamgīr Nāmāh*, by M. Kazin, p. 28, Calcutta Edition.

² Cullied from *Ādāb-i-Ālamgīrī*, by I. N. Sarkar, in *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 350.

³ *Mīr'at Ahmadi*, Vol. II, pp. 117-118, Bombay edition.

the frontiers of provinces only. When a carriage of the royal treasury, writes the author of *Riyād-us-Salātīn*, enters another province, the Subedar receives it and carries into his fort under the supervision of his men. He then loads the treasury into another carriage, and sends it off accompanied by guards. Each Subedar follows the same procedure, until the treasury reaches the Centre.¹ A layman despatched his money to distant places through Sharoffs. The author of the *Khulāsta-ut Tawārikh* (compiled in 1695 A D) writes

“The people of this country are so honest in their monetary transactions that even if an unknown and strange person deposits one lakh of rupees with Shroffs, without any witness, the latter will return the rupees on demand at any time without any delay and discussion. If any person, owing to the risks of a distant journey, cannot carry money personally, the honest Shroffs take the amount from him, and write on a slip of paper in Hindi, without any seal or envelope, to their agents, who work on their behalf in different parts of the country. This paper is called in this country Hundi (हुन्दी). These agents, who are very true in their dealings, pay the cash, according to the instructions in the paper, without making any argument, even if they are living at the distance of two hundred farsakhs. And it is strange to find that if a person wants to sell the Hundi, which is but a piece of paper, he can do it, and the purchaser, after getting a little profit from the seller, realises the amount from the proper place. And it is still more strange to find that traders, owing to the dangers of the roads, place their goods and commodities at the disposal of these people (i.e., Shroffs), who arrange to convey them safely to their owners. This process is called by the people بيمه (Bima).”²

Now let us describe the staff of the postal department as it existed during the rule of the Timurite dynasty. Each of these rulers had a very elaborate secretariat called, دارالاشاء (Department of Letters). This department, according to the instructions of the emperors, sent Farmāns, Shuqqa (letter written by the Emperor directly or in his own person to any other person), or Nishān (a letter from a prince of royal dynasty or any royal person except the emperor), or Hasb-ul-Hukm (a letter written by a minister in his own person but under the emperor's direction and conveying his orders), or Sanad (a letter of appointment), Parwānah (an administrative order to a subordinate official), or Dastak (a short official permit), to the Dārogha-i-Dāk Chawki, who was the chief of the postal system. He despatched royal mails from the Centre to the different parts of the provinces, and in return received them from these parts for the emperor's

¹ *Riyād-us-Salātīn*, p. 257, Calcutta edition.

² *Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh*, a manuscript, preserved in the Library of the Shibli Academy, Azamgarh. It is a general history of India from the earliest times down to the accession of Aurangzeb (1658 A H 1659 A D). It was compiled by Munshi Sujān Rai Khattari of Patiala in 1107 A H. (1695 A D). A brief note on Aurangzeb's reign, its duration and principal events, was added subsequently.

perusal. He enjoyed great influence and trust. At every headquarters of the province also, there was stationed a Dārogha-i-Dāk Chawki, who in his subordinate position enjoyed the same status and influence as his chief had at the Centre. He received mail from the Central Government for officers deputed to provinces. And for the Centre, besides the official despatches of the provincial officers, he received reports of the Wāqā'i' Nigār (رواق نگار), Sawānih Nawīs or Khufya Nawīs (سواح نویس یا حفیہ نویس), and Harkārah (حرکارہ). Wāqā'i' Nigār was a public reporter, who was deputed to a province to report occurrences. He in his turn appointed in the parganas, as well as in the offices of the Nāzīm, the Dīwān, the Faujdār, the court of Justice and Kotwal's Chabūtra, agents who brought to him every evening a written statement of what had occurred during the day. These reports were then sent to the provincial Dārogha-i-Dāk Chawki, who despatched them to the centre. The Wāqā'i' Nigār also accompanied expeditionary troops to report the daily occurrences of the long marches and battles.

The Swānih Nawīs served as a check on the Wāqā'i' Nigār, who sometimes failed in his duty by entering into collusion with the local officers. Accordingly, the Sawānih Nawīs was appointed with instructions to reside in *cognite* in the province. The local authority did not even know his name. He was also called Khufya Nawīs (حفیہ نویس). But this Sawānih Nawīs was later on entrusted with the duty of supervising the postal arrangements within the province. In this capacity he sent to the Central Government weekly reports of the Wāqā'i' Nigār and Harkārah, as well as the application of the Nāzīm and the Dīwān along with the cash balance of the royal treasury. Like the Wāqā'i' Nigār, the Sawānih Nawīs also had his agents in different places. He received from the Centre orders also issued to the Nāzīm and the Dīwān regarding the appointment, dismissal, or escheating of the property of a Mansabdār, and then despatched them to the proper places.

The Harkārah was a servant of provincial grade. He reported the news from all sides to the Nāzīm of the province. But he sometimes sent letters enclosed in envelopes to be despatched direct to the Imperial Court along with the provincial mail.

Reports of the Wāqā'i' Nigār were, as a rule, to be sent once a week and the statement of the Sawānih Nawīs twice a week, and the Akhbār of the Harkārah once a month. But according to the author of *Mir'at Ahmadi*, the practice in Gujrat early in the 18th century was to send all these papers to the Emperor along with the dispatch of the provincial Nāzīm, Dīwān, and cash balance of the treasury once a week. The above reports were sent in a hollow cylinder, the mouth of which was sealed.

The mail, as has been described, was conveyed by Mewras from one post to another. Each post had according to the author of *Mir'at Ahmadi* two Tārīkh Nawīs (تاریخ نویس), two male persons, and a Darogha. By Tārīkh-Nawīs is meant perhaps a clerk who wrote the date of the arrival

and departure of the mail. "Two male persons" probably means the postmen, and the Dārogha was in charge of the post-houses. When a postal runner started from the Central Government, he had with him a permit, duly sealed and signed by the Dārogha-i-Dāk Chawki. This served as an obligation for a Faujdār, a Zamīndār or a Thanadār to provide in their localities a safe journey for the postal runner, who was conducted on his route by guides. For his return journey he had the same permit from the Sawānīh Nawīs.¹

SYYYED SABAHUDDIN.

¹ Gleaned from *Mir'āt Ahmadi*, Vol II, pp 116, 117, 118. Le Bon, in his *Civilization of India*, making a general review of the postal system of the Muslim rulers of India, says, "As the emperors of Delhi stood in need of knowing the occurrences of the different provinces, so they had an excellent arrangement of the postal system. Letters and information reached them swiftly and properly. The mail was carried by runners, who were changed at short distances. They passed along the great roads of the country. The roads which were difficult and sparsely populated, had here and there white stones, which showed the way to the runners at night. It appears that the roads were in good order, for the French traveller Tavernier, who toured India in the 16th century, says that the roads were in better condition than those of France and Italy.—(From Urdu translation by Sayyed 'Alī Belgramī, p 317)

AL-MĀWARDĪ: A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND WORKS

THE glorious régime of the Abbasides was really the Augustan period of Islamic history, and is rightly called the Golden Age of Muslim civilization and culture. An intellectual movement carried out to a vast and varied extent marks the literary tendencies of that age. The acquisition of arts and sciences, the translation of Greek classics into Arabic, and the wide-spread patronage of scholars and savants are salient features of that period. The literary history of this particular period richly abounds in great scholars in every science, of which a nation can justly be proud. Among the literary geniuses of that age was al-Māwardī, the subject of our present paper.

Al-Khatīb of Baghdad, on the authority of Abū 'Alī Hasan b. Dā'ūd, relates that the people of Basra always took pride in their three learned countrymen and their works, viz., Khalīl b. Ahmad (d. 175 A.H.) and his work *Kitāb-ul-'Am*, Sibawayh (d. 180 A.H.) and his *Kitāb-un-Nahw*, al-Jāhiz (d. 255 A.H.) and his *al-Bayān-wat-Tabyīn*. I would add to this the name of a fourth scholar al-Māwardī, the learned Jurisconsult and political economist of Basra, whose monumental work *al-Ahkām-us-Sultāmyah* is a high water-mark in the politico-religious literature of Islam.

BIRTH, NAME, FAMILY AND EDUCATION

His name was 'Alī b. Muhammad b. Habib, Abū'l-Hasan¹ being his Kunyah, or patronymic, and al-Māwardī his family surname. He was born in 364/1072² at Basra in an Arab family who either carried on trade in rose-water or manufactured it, hence the sobriquet al-Māwardī.³

1 In Abū'l-Fidā, Ibn Athīr and Ibn Jauzī, the Kunya is Abū'l-Husain, which is not correct.

2 The biographers of Māwardī agree that he died in 450 at the age of 86 years, and the date of his birth can therefore be conveniently fixed at 364 A.H.

3 Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, fol. 504

Māwardī had a son named Abu'l-Fāid 'Abd-ul-Wahhāb who died in his father's lifetime, as his death is recorded in the events of the year 441 A H, by Ibn-Jauzī and Ibn-Athīr.¹ They say that he was appointed as an approved witness,² in 431 A H, by Qādī Ibn Mākūla,³ who appointed him in deference to the high position occupied by his father, al-Māwardī

Māwardī at first studied jurisprudence under his countryman, Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abdul-Wāhid as-Saimarī (d 386 A H), a learned theologian and a leading Shafī'ite jurist under whom students from far off countries came to receive instruction.⁴ He proceeded afterwards to Baghdad to prosecute his studies further under Shaikh Abū-Hāmid al-Isfrā'īnī (d 406)⁵ He also read with Abū-Muhammad 'Abdullāh al-Bāfī (d 398), an eminent scholar, an eloquent speaker and learned theologian of Baghdād, well-versed in jurisprudence, grammar, literature and poetry.⁶

STUDIES AND ACADEMIC CAREER

MĀWARDĪ was well-read in the Islamic sciences of Hadīth, Fiqh, Qur'ānic commentary and Sirah as is amply borne out by his erudite writings on these subjects. He was also proficient in the subjects of politics, ethics, literature and poetry. Here some details regarding his academic attainments are given which have been gathered from different sources.

1 As a Traditionist.

Māwardī lived in an age when Hadīth was the order of the day and every scholar, however profound he was, used to receive instruction in Hadīth and acquire it from different persons even inferior to him in learning. Māwardī himself was one of the trustworthy guarantors of the

1 *Al-Muntazam*, VIII, p 142, *al-Kāmil*, X, p 194, Ibn-Athīr gives his Kunyah as Abul-Qāsim

2 In the 4th century *Shuhūd*, or notaries or permanent approved witnesses, were appointed by the Qādī. They were officials of the Qādī who assisted him in verifying legal matters and also decided small disputes. They were young lawyers who later received judicial appointments (*Ency of Islam*, IV, p 262, *Mez, Renaissance of Islam*, pp 228-229)

3 Husain b 'Alī b. Ja'far (b 368-d 447) was appointed Qādī-ul-Quḍāt by caliph al-Qādir in 427 A theologian and jurist (*Muntazam*, VIII, p 167, *Subki*, III, p 152)

4 *Subki*, *Tabaqāt*, II, p 243, Yāqūt, *Mu'jam-ul-Buldān*, V, p 406, according to Dhahabī (*History of Islam*) he lived as late as 402 at Baṣra (Ibn-Khal, *De Slane* II 226) The name is derived from Ṣaimara, one of the canals of Baṣra

5 The prominent Shafī'ite jurist, about whom it has been remarked that had the Imām Shāfi' seen him, he would have been very much pleased with him. Seven hundred students daily attended his lectures on jurisprudence. Ibn Khall., I, pp 19-20, *al-Muntazam*, VII, pp. 277-278, *Subki*, III, p. 303, Yāqūt *Mu'jam*, I, p 229

6 'Abdullāh b Muhammad al-Bukhārī of Bāf, a village in the district of Khwānzim, *Subki* II, 233-234.

Prophet's sayings, which he related from and transmitted to many of his contemporaries when he permanently settled at Baghdād, in the quarter of az-Za'farānī¹

The following traditionists were the masters (شيوخ) of Māwardī in Hadīth¹ —

1 Hasan b 'Alī b Muhammad al-Jabalī (d. 413) — A traditionist and jurisconsult of Basra and a pupil of Abu'l-Halifa²

2 Muhammad b 'Alī b. Zayr al-Minqarī

3. Muhammad b. al-Mu'allā al-Azdī.

4. Ja'far b. Muhammad b. al-Fadl al-Baghdādī

Several learned men studied Hadīth and Fiqh under him³

None of Māwardī's works on Hadīth proper has come down to us, but a large number of Ahādīth quoted in his printed works, viz, *al-Ahkām-us-Sultāniya*, *A'lām-un-Nubūwah* and *Adab-ud-Dunyā wad-Dīn*, give us an idea of his vast knowledge in this particular branch of Islamic learning

Subkī has related two sayings from Māwardī in his *Tabaqāt*,⁴ giving his own Isnād, or chain of guarantors⁵

Māwardī's vast knowledge of Hadīth literature can be gauged from his work *إعلام النبوة* on a special branch of Sirat, discussing the miracles of the Prophet in his words and deeds, their bearing on his mission, the difference between miracle and magic, etc. Many books have been written on this subject but Tāsh Kopruizādeh's opinion is that there is no other book on the subject so informative and excellent as that of Māwardī. The book comprises 21 chapters and 165 pages, in which Māwardī has discussed at length the proofs of the Prophet's mission, the Qur'ān as his miracle performed by Allāh in order to prove the sincerity of His apostle, proofs of his infallibility, his miracles performed in deeds and words, his prayers answered by God, his warnings against things to happen after him, his miracles in the animal, the vegetable and the mineral worlds, prophecies of other prophets regarding his coming as the last prophet, the purities of his blood in his generation and birth, his moral conduct and virtues, his appearance and the establishment of his mission, the admission of the genu regarding his prophethood and their profession of Islam, these are the contents of this small treatise which furnishes very valuable information not only on the life of the Prophet but also on the customs, superstitions and beliefs of the pre-Islamic

1 *Tā'rikh Baghdād*, No. 6539

2 *Sam'ānī*, fol. 121

3 See under "Māwardī as a teacher"

4. Vol. III, p. 306

5 See under "Māwardī as a teacher"

Arabs A modern author has profusely drawn upon this book in his monumental work on the history of the Arabs ¹

2 As a Jurisconsult

Islamic law and jurisprudence was Māwardī's favourite subject in which he had specialized and acquired a high degree of proficiency, especially in the *Furū'* (مروء), or doctrine of applied Fiqh of the Shāfi'ite school His deep study of the principles and branches of Islamic jurisprudence has built up his reputation as one of the most learned jurists of his time, and he is counted as one of the Imāms, or leader, of the Shāfi'ite school His masterly work *al-Hāwī* is a positive proof of Māwardī's profound learning and extensive knowledge of Fiqh, and reflects much credit on his high attainments in this subject This book of Māwardī has been used as a great work of reference by the later jurists, and was a source of inspiration to them in solving the most difficult and knotty problems of Islamic jurisprudence The book *al-Hāwī* is highly spoken of by al-Isnawī, the author of biographies of the Shāfi'ite jurists, who says that 'no such book has ever been written on the subject' ² This great work was condensed by Māwardī into an epitome and was named *al-Iqnā'*, about which he says that he spread jurisprudence into four thousand folios (i.e. 8,000 pages), meaning thereby his work *al-Hāwī*, and condensed it into 40, i.e., his book *al-Iqnā'* ³

It is related by Yāqūt ⁴ that al-Qādir-Billāh, the 25th 'Abbasid caliph (381-422), had a very high opinion of him

He had also written الكافي شرح مختصر الرعي as recorded by Subkī, كتاب في البيوع, is referred to by the author himself in his ادب الدنيا والدين but it has not come down to us Māwardī was a Mujaḥid or an independent interpreter of the canon law and he did not believe in such analogical deductions as are not supported by original sources of the Islamic Shari'at, but are merely based on the rigid conventionalities of the later jurists For instance, in the inheritance of *Dhawi'l-Arhām*, or distant kindred, he differs from older jurists of his school.

3 As a Commentator of the Qur'ān.

Among the old commentators of the Qur'ān Māwardī is counted as one of the best interpreters of holy writ His commentary entitled *an-Nukāt-wa'l-'Uyūn*, though not so well-known as other famous works on

¹ *Bulūgh-ul-Arab-fi-Aḥwālil-'Arab*, by Alūsizāda in 3 Vols., Baghdad لومع الارب في احوال العرب

² *Shadharāt-udh-Dhahab*, II p. 285

³ *al-Muntaẓam*, VIII, p. 199, Bundārī, 22.

⁴ *Irshād*, V, p. 408 This is related by Yāqūt on the authority of Māwardī's pupil 'Abdu'l-Malik al-Hamadhānī.

the subjects, is taken to be a classical work like that of his contemporary al-Qushairī and later writers such as ar-Rāzī, al-Isbahānī, and al-Kirmānī. Although some of his critics have found fault with certain of his interpretations and have alleged him to hold Mu'tazilite views, this does not seem to be correct, as his interpretations stand in perfect agreement with those of the Orthodox school, and the learned divine Ibn-Taimiyya, while giving his opinion about the Orthodox commentaries of the Qur'ān, has enumerated Māwardī's commentary among the good books on the subject.¹ However, Māwardī's commentary seems to have been so popular that a scholar made an abridgement of it.² The later Persian commentator al-Kāshifī (d. 910 A.H.) refers to this commentary in his book *Tuhfat-us-Salawāt*.³ Probably it was due to the fame of *an-Nukāt wal Uyūn* that a Spanish scholar Abul-Hasan 'Alī b. Abī'l-Qāsim b. 'Abdillāh b. 'Alī al-Muqri' (d. 472) of Saraqusta (Saragossa), in the course of his travels to the Near East for the purpose of acquiring knowledge, read this book with al-Māwardī.⁴ Besides the commentary on the Qur'ān, Māwardī also wrote a book on the Qur'ānic similitudes (امثال القرآن), the importance of which has been emphasised by Māwardī himself in the following words, as quoted by Tāsh Koprüzāda⁵ and as-Suyūṭī⁶ —

"One of the main Qur'ānic sciences is the science of parables or similitudes. People have neglected it as they have confined their attention to similitudes only and have lost sight of the similars mentioned in the similes. A similitude without a similar is a horse without a bridle, or a camel without a rein."

This observation of Māwardī shows what deep insight he had into the subject. Probably he was the first man to write a book on the subjects as as-Suyūṭī has pointed out.

4 As a Literary Man

Although Māwardī was principally devoted to theological studies, yet he possessed in him a real aptitude and taste for literature and poetry. His works contain fine specimens of his literary style and show a perfect command over the Arabic language. The Arabic proverbs, aphorisms, literary traditions and quotations from classical Arabic poems, profusely scattered in his books, testify to his linguistic ability and literary craftsmanship.

¹ Kunnāsh of Ibn-us-Sārim, cf. az-Zahra.

² Hāji Khalifa, I, p. 314.

³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 614 and I, p. 263.

⁴ Amīr Shakīb Arsalān, *al-Hulal as-Sundusiya*, II, 20.

⁵ *Miftāh-us-Sa'ādah*, Vol. II, pp. 368-369.

⁶ *Al-Itqān*, II, p. 222. The original text runs as follows. — "قال الماوردي من اعظم علم القرآن علم امثاله والاس في حلة مع لاشتماله بالامثال واعظم المثلث والثل لا يمثل كالفرس بلا حمار والاقة لا دمام"

That Māwardī was well-read in classical Arabic poetry and remembered innumerable verses of the celebrated Arabic poets, is evident from the numerous quotations in his writings. Subkī tells us that Māwardī was prone to quote lyrical verses in his theological writings¹

5 As a Political Theorist

Māwardī was a great political economist, though not a regular student of political science, and his speculative political thinking deserves special attention. He is amongst the earliest Muslim savants who wrote on the subjects of Islamic political ideals.

Māwardī wrote the following treatises on political science —

- 1 *al-Ahkām-us-Sultāniya* (Laws concerning Rulership).
2. *Ādāb-ul-Wazīr* (Ethics of the Wazīr).
- 3 *Siyāsat-ul-Malik* (King's Politics)
- 4 *Tashīl un-Nasr-wat-Ta'jil uz-Zafar* (Facilitating the Conquest and Hastening the Victory)

Of these four books Nos. 1 and 2 have been published, the other two are still in manuscript.

The *Ādāb-al-Wazīr* deals with the definitions and classification of the Wazīr, or prime minister, his duties and functions, his powers and limitations. It contains sound advice to ministers and lays down rules and practical suggestions which the ministers ought to follow while functioning as a head of the State at the helm of affairs. Upon the duties, instructions, and admonitions to Wazīrs a vast literature has sprung up, and in this class of literature Māwardī's work has been considered most important, since it contains a concise survey of all that is worth knowing in any branch of Islamic culture.

Of all the works of Māwardī, *al-Ahkām us-Sultāniya* is by far the most important. It is a book of outstanding merit, dealing with the Islamic public laws. In view of the large literature on the book,² and its

¹ *Tabaqāt*, III, p. 308

² Max Enger, *De vita et scriptis Mawardi*, 1851

Von Hammer, *Spirit of Islam*, p. 485

Von Kremer, (trans. Khuda Bakhsh), Vol. I, 268-69

Brockelmann, *G A L in loco*, *Encyclopædia of Islam*, in loco

Clement Huart, *Arabic Literature*, p. 243-44

Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 338

Arnold, *Caliphate*, p. 70-73

Margoliouth and Carra de Vaux, *Encyclopædia of Religions and Ethics*, VI, 724-25

Ruben Levy, *Sociology of Islam*, Vol. I, 295-300

Khuda Buksh, *Essays Indian and Islamic*, p. 43-47

Sherwani, *Studies in the Early History of Muslim Political Thought*, p. 148-65

Siddiqi, *Caliphate and Kingship in Mediæval Persia*, p. 11, f. n

JRAS, 1910, p. 750-61, 1911, p. 635-74, 1916, I, 280-87, II, 60-77 (*Qāḍi, Mazālim, and Hisba*).

availability in French and Urdu, we are spared the necessity of analysing its contents. However, it may be pointed out here that as regards the contents of the book Māwardī has closely followed the *Kitāb-ul-Umm* of ash-Shāfi'i.

6. As a Teacher.

It is related by Abū-Ishāq ash-Shirāzī, a contemporary of Māwardī who had once met him¹ that Māwardī imparted instruction at Basra and Baghdād for many years.² Subkī and Khatīb give the names of some of the famous pupils who read with him law, Hadīth and Qur'anology.

It is not known whether Māwardī taught his pupils in some Madrasah or mosque, but one of his pupils, 'Abdu'l-Malik,³ says that he used to receive instruction from Māwardī at Baghdād at the latter's residence. From this it is certain that at Baghdād Māwardī used to teach at home.

7. As a Judge.

We know nothing of Māwardī's family and their station in life. He was appointed Qādī or judge in various towns, and occupied the high and responsible post of Grand Qādī (*امضى القضاة*), for which he might have been highly remunerated. We possess some information regarding his being a rich man, as he was handsomely rewarded by the Saljūq and the Buwayhid princes in the course of the various diplomatic missions to which he was deputed by the caliph. The remark made by Jalāl-ud-Dawlah⁴ about Māwardī's surpassing other men of his class in wealth and riches, testifies to his sound pecuniary position.

Māwardī was appointed a Qādī (judge) in several towns and was raised afterwards to the high posts of Qādī al-Qudāt (i.e., Supreme Judge) at Ustuwa, a rural district of Nishāpūr⁵ and was finally elevated in the year 429, to the highest position of Aqd-al-Qudāt,⁶ or Grand Qādī, at Baghdād, where he settled permanently in a quarter named Darb az-Za'farānī.⁷ The title of Aqd-al-Qudāt conferred upon him was declared to be illegal by other jurists like Abū-Tayyib, at-Tabarī and as-Šamarrī, who took exception to it although they had allowed the title of the "King of Kings" (*ملك الملوك*) for the Prince Jalāl-ud-

1 Subkī, III, p. 95

2 Tabaqāt al-Fuqahā', p. 110

3 A Shāfi'ite jurist who died at Baghdad in 489. He read Fiqh with Māwardī and studied for five years under him.

4 See under 'character and conduct'

5 Brockleemann, I, p. 386

6 Yāqūt, V, p. 407

7 Sam'ānī, fol. 504, a quarter at Karkh (Baghdad) named after 'Abū-ʿAlī Ḥasan b. Muḥammad as-Šabbāḥ az-Za'farānī. Mostly the merchants and wealthy persons resided in this quarter and very often it provided an abode for jurisconsults. (*Mu'jam-ul-Biḍān*, IV, p. 48).

Dawlah, which Māwardī regarded as the usurpation of God's title. But Māwardī did not care about such opinions and enjoyed the title till his death.¹ This title of 'Aqd-al-Qudāt continued to be conferred on the judges as late as the beginning of the seventh century Hijrī, as Yāqūt tells us that in his time there was one condition attached to the title to the effect that it should be regarded as inferior to the title of Qādī al-Qudāt, and so it became a matter of mere conventionality rather than one of real significance and propriety. Brockelmann ascribes to him a work on ادب القاضى (MS Istanbul).

MĀWARDĪ CHARGED WITH MU'TAZILISM

MĀWARDĪ was a staunch adherent of the Sunnite faith and belonged to the Shāfi'ite school, as is evident from his writings on the Shāfi'ite jurisprudence. He was recognised as a leading exponent of the Shāfi'ite Fiqh, on which he was regarded as an authority. It is, however, strange to find him charged by some scholars with holding Mu'tazilite views. Yāqūt, on his own information, speaks of him as a Shāfi'ite in the branches of Fiqh (مروء) and a Mu'tazilite in its principles (اصول). Safadī (d. 764) while enumerating the names of the Mu'tazilite celebrities, observes that the Shāfi'ite are generally inclined towards Ash'arism, the Hanafite to Mu'tazilism, the Mālikites are Qadarites and the Hanbalites are Hashwiya and so to find the name of Māwardī among the Mu'tazilites appears to him very strange.² Ibn-Hijjat al-Ḥamawī (d. 837 A.H.) has also repeated this remark and while giving the names of the leading Mu'tazilites, like Jāhīz, Wāsil, 'Abdul-Jabbār, ar-Rummānī, and Abū-'Alī, puts at the end the name of Māwardī, but expresses his astonishment by saying "It is very strange."³

The traditionist, Ibn-us-Salāh⁴ observes —

"I used to hear much about Māwardī, May God forgive him, being charged with Mu'tazilism but I never inquired into it. I used to connive at this charge and tried to explain away those of Māwardī's interpretations of certain Qur'ānic verses in respect of which there is a difference of opinion among the Sunni and Mu'tazilite commentators. I used to observe that perhaps Māwardī's object was nothing but to collect in his commentary on the Qur'ān all that has been said, rightly or wrongly, for and against, on any subject and hence his quotations from the Mu'tazilite writers. But I found that he has adopted such views of the Mu'tazilites as are based on their wrong principles, for instance,

1 *Irshad*, V, p. 407

2 *al-Ghāyath ul-Musayyam fi Sharh-i-Lāmiyat ul-'Ajām*, II, p. 32

3 *Thamarāt-ul-Aurāq*, p. 7, Cairo

4 Abu-'Amr Taqī-ud-Dīn 'Uthmān b. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān (d. 643), a well-known Shāfi'ite jurist and traditionist.

his admission that God does not like idol worship, and while commenting on the following verse of the Qur'ān —

وكذلك جعلنا لكل نبيّ عدوّاً شياطين الانس والجن

'And likewise did we *make* for every messenger an enemy from among men and geni.¹ Māwardī observes —' The word جعلنا (did We make) has a twofold meaning 1st, God ordained them to become enemies, 2nd, God predestined them and did not forbid them from becoming enemies'

"Here Māwardī does not refute the interpretation which is in conformity with the Mu'tazilite view, and that is why his commentary is full of idle explanations of the people of false creed (اهل الباطل), which he has so surreptitiously inserted in his book that nobody but learned scholars could make them out. Notwithstanding this, it is a book written by a man who does not wish to be associated with the Mu'tazilites and so he tries to conceal such ideas of his as are in perfect agreement with their views. And again he is not entirely a Mu'tazilite, as he does not subscribe to their open views such as that of the 'creation of the Qur'ān,' as is borne out by his interpretation of the following verse —

'And the prophet brings to them nothing new of their Lord's revealing'²

ما يأتاهم من دكر من ربهم محدث

Still, however, we see him share the views of the Mu'tazilites on the doctrine of predestination, for which the people of Basra have been notorious from time immemorial³

One is astonished at the misapprehension of the learned traditionist who is bold enough to accuse Māwardī of Mu'tazilism and in the same breath to express his doubts regarding this allegation. If in his commentary on the Qur'ān, Māwardī has written anything which coincides with the Mu'tazilite views, it does not necessarily imply that he belonged to that school, and, we are afraid, many a commentator would not escape such an imputation if he were to be condemned for the simple quoting of the doctrines of this school of thought without expressing an opinion thereon. Another learned traditionist and great biographer, Ibn-Hajar al-'Asqalānī, while noticing Māwardī,⁴ has rightly remarked that it is not proper to confound him with the Mu'tazilites. Further on, he observes that the

1. Qur'ān, ch. VI The Cattle, 112.

2. Qur'ān, ch. Prophets, I. The Mu'tazilites generally base their argument on this verse in order to prove that the Qur'ān is created. See Rāzī's *Tafsīr*, Vol. VI p. 9.

3. Subki, III, pp. 303-305.

4. *Lisān-ul-Mizān*,

doctrines of this school are well known, one of them is the obligatory nature of the ordinances *وحيث الأحكام* and putting them into action and whether this is derived from Reason or Faith Māwardī says it is derived from Reason. This and other such views are found in Māwardī's commentary.¹ Ibn 'Imād² the Hanbalite (d 1089), after quoting the criticism of Ibn-us-Salāh, writes that he has accused Māwardī of Mu'tazilism for such of the doctrines as he has himself supposed to coincide with the Mu'tazilite views. But Māwardī does not concur with all the principles of the Mu'tazilites. One of their doctrines is the "createdness of Paradise," which has been refuted by Māwardī.³

From the above-mentioned statements of learned theologians it is clear that Māwardī had no connection whatever with the Mu'tazilite school. We must also not lose sight of the fact that the conditions prevailing in Māwardī's times were such as to impeach any learned theologian whose views happened to coincide in any respect with any of the heterodox views. This attitude implied a certain predilection on the part of the adherents of one school for the veracity of their own *bona fide* dogmas. The Qadarites or Predestinarians were mostly Ahl-ul-Hadīth, but when one of their leading men became a convert to Mu'tazilism a considerable section of the Qadarite joined the Mu'tazilites. Thus Qadari and Mu'tazilites soon became synonymous terms.⁴ From this point of view Māwardī cannot be blamed for holding Qadarite opinions which he shared in common with most of the learned theologians of the Shāfi'ite School, particularly these belonging to Basra. "In this town," observes Von Kremer, "for the first time the doctrine of Free Will, which had its origin at Damascus, was developed into a rationalistic school of theology, which subsequently under the name of Mu'tazilite played a distinguished role."⁵

MĀWARDĪ'S ROLE IN THE POLITICAL AFFAIRS OF HIS TIMES

ON account of his venerable position as a learned theologian and jurisconsult, Māwardī was held in high esteem by the public as well as by the caliphs of Baghdad and the Saljūq and the Buwayhid Amīrs who virtually ruled over the caliph's territories. He was sent several times on diplomatic missions and acted as plenipotentiary of the caliph al-Qā'im-bi-Amrillāh⁶ (391-460), the 26th Abbasid caliph of Baghdad. On

1 *Lisān-ul-Mizān*

2 *Shadharāt-adh-Dhahab*, Vol VIII

3 *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol III, p 789

4 Von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, trans Khuda Bakhsh, p 94

5 Brockleemann (*Ency Islam*, III, p 416) says "He (Māwardī) often acted for Caliph al-Kādir (381-422 991-1031) in his negotiations with the Buwayhid who then ruled at Irak." But this is not correct as according to Arab historians Māwardī was first sent as an envoy by al-Qā'im at the time of his accession in 422, and afterwards by the same caliph in the years 428, 433, 434 and 435, when al-Qādir did not even exist, as he had already died in 422. There is not a single instance to prove that al-Qādir ever sent him as an envoy to any prince.

the following occasions he was sent as the caliph's envoy to the Saljūq and the Buwayhid princes.—

(1) In the year 422 when al-Qā'im succeeded to the caliphate of Baghdād, he sent Māwardī to Abū-Kālījār,¹ the Buwayhid ruler, to receive his Bai'at, or oath of allegiance, and to arrange for the recitation of caliph's name in the Friday Sermon (Khutbah) in his territory. The prince took an oath of allegiance to the caliph, issued orders for recitation of his name in the Khutbah, and sent to him valuable presents.²

Ibn-Jauzī gives a long description of Māwardī's embassy to Abū-Kālījār, which he puts in 423, and narrates the event in detail, describing his reception and visit to the Amīr, and adds that Abū-Kālījār promised to accept the caliph's overlordship on condition that the title of "the Great Sultān and Lord of the Nations" (سلطان المعظم مالك الامم) should be conferred upon him. This Māwardī declined, saying that the title only befitted the caliph. The Amīr next proposed the title of ملك الدولة, King of the Empire, which was agreed to by Māwardī, and he then requested the prince to accept the caliph's obeisance, but the latter promised to accept it after the title was duly conferred upon him. Here Ibn Jauzī gives a long list, on Māwardī's authority, of costly articles and cash amounts given by the prince for presentation to the caliph.³

(2) In the year 428 Māwardī was sent by the caliph, with Abū-'Abdillāh al-Mardustī, as an ambassador to make peace between the Prince Jalāl ud-Dawlah⁴ and his nephew Abū-Kālījār. At the intervention of the caliph's envoys both the princes came to terms and received valuable presents from the caliph.⁵

(3) In the year 433 Māwardī at the instance of the caliph, went to Tughrilbēk,⁶ the first Saljūq ruler of Irāq. The object of this embassy is not given by the Arab chroniclers, but it appears from Ibn-Khallikān that the object of Māwardī's mission was to stop the reciting of Tughril's name in Khutbah and to substitute for it that of the caliph al-Qā'im. Thereupon Māwardī exhorted the prince to fear God, to govern the subjects with justice and kindness, and to extend his beneficence to the people.⁷ Both 'Imād Isfahānī and Ibn-Athīr write, on the authority of

1 Al-'Imād li-Dīnillāh 'Izz-u'l-Mulūk Abū-Kālījār Marzubān b. Sultān ad-Dawlah b. Bahā'-ud-Dawlah, the Buwayhid prince who succeeded his father in 416 and died in 440/1048.

2 Ibn-Athīr, *Tārīkh-al-Kāmil*, IX, p. 145.

3 Al-Muntazam, VIII, p. 65.

4 Abū-Ṭāhir b. Bahā' ud-Dawlah b. Buwayh, Jalāl-ud-Dawlah being his honorific title, the Amīr who usurped the caliph's throne at Baghdād.

5 Rukn-ud-Dīn Abū-Ṭālib Muhammad b. Mikā'il, the first king of the Great Saljūqs (429-455).

6 Ibn-Athīr, IX, p. 157.

7 Ibn-Khallikān, II, p. 45; De Slane, the English translator of Ibn-Khallikān (Vol. III, p. 239, note), says that 'Imād Isfahānī who gives the names of the two ambassadors, viz., Abū-Bakr aṭ-Ṭūsī and Abū-Muhammad Hibatullāh b. Muhammad al-Māmūnī, makes no mention of Māwardī. But these two persons were sent later on, on a different occasion, as we learn from al-Bundārī (*Tārīkh Āl-i-Saljūq*, pp. 8-9) where we find that these two envoys were sent by al-Qā'im in 437 to invite Tughril to Baghdād.

Māwardī himself, that when in the year 433 the caliph al-Qā'im sent him to Tughril he wrote a letter to Baghdād in which he reported the vices of the prince and the devastated condition of the territory, and severely criticized him in every respect. The letter was dropped somewhere by Māwardī's servant and by chance it fell into the hands of a man who took it to Tughril. On reading the letter, Tughril concealed it and did not utter a word about it, nor did he make any change in the courtesy and regard which he showed to Māwardī.¹

(4) In the year 434 A.H. Māwardī was sent to the Buwayhid prince, Jalāl-ud-Dawlah, when the latter had interfered with the caliph's private sources of income realised from the newly-conquered colonies. It was customary for the Muslim princes to refrain from interfering with the revenue set apart for the caliph's private expenditure, but the Buwayhid prince was so imprudent as to lay hands on the caliph's income. The matter took a serious turn, and the caliph sent Māwardī to the prince in order to secure his rights. He also wrote several letters, but the prince did not pay any heed to these entreaties. Al-Māwardī thereupon exhorted Jalāl-ud-Dawlah, who, from the next year desisted from his action² and returned the colonies to the caliph.³

(5) In the year 435 Māwardī was sent by the caliph to make peace between Tughrilbek the Saljūq and Jalāl ad-Dawlah⁴ the Buwayhid and his nephew, Abū-Kālijār, when these Saljūq and the Dailamite Turks were engaged in war against each other, and the troops of Tughril had invaded Rayy and laid it waste, killing all the inhabitants, who were three thousand in number. Tughrilbek was camping at that time at Jurjān. Having been informed of Māwardī's arrival, Tughril walked up to 4 farsakhs (leagues) from his camping-ground to receive the caliph's envoy with due honour. Māwardī reprimanded Tughril for having perpetrated the onslaught at Rayy and other cities and exhorted him to treat his subjects with kindness. Tughril rewarded Māwardī with thirty thousand Dinārs for honouring him with his company. He also sent twenty thousand Dinārs for the caliph and paid ten thousand Dinārs to Māwardī's servants. On his return from his mission in 436,⁵ Māwardī reported to the caliph the cordial reception accorded to him by Tughril, his stay with the prince, and the respect shown towards the caliph's letter.⁶

¹ Ibn-Athīr, IX, p. 9, Bundārī p. 26

² *Ibid.*, p. 177

³ *al-Muntazam*, VIII, p. 116

⁴ Jalāl-ad-Dawlah sought to make peace with the Saljūqs, but as he died in the same year, the result desired was only attained under his successor, Abū-Kālijār in 439, see Ibn-Athīr, X, p. 184

⁵ It appears that Māwardī went to Tughril shortly before the death of Jalāl-ud-Dawlah in the month of Sha'bān 435 and returned in the beginning of 436. This shows that Māwardī might have stayed with Tughril for more than six months

⁶ Ibn-Athīr, IX, p. 180, *al-Muntazam*, VIII, p. 233

CHARACTER AND CONDUCT OF MĀWARDĪ

MĀWARDĪ, as befitted his high and responsible position as a juriconsult and Grand Qādī, was a very polite, grave, pious, and trustworthy man¹ One of his pupils,² who studied under him for five years at his residence, says "I have not seen any person more serious than Māwardī, I never heard him laughing at any time and I could never perceive his forearm open from the time when I first kept company with him till he left this world"³

That he was modest and free from conceit, is evidenced from the following anecdote described by Māwardī himself He writes —

"Once I composed a treatise on legal transactions in which I gathered all available materials from almost all the books written on the subject I endeavoured my utmost to make the work as complete and comprehensive as possible After the book was finished I felt myself proud of this achievement and thought myself an authority on the subject One day when I was sitting in my study (Majlis) two Bedouins came up to me and enquired from me as to the validity of a bargain entered into by them in the desert on certain stipulations involving four issues I began to ponder over the matter but was at a loss to solve the knotty problem Hearing no reply from me, one of the Bedouins remarked "You are a leading jurist, are you not able to satisfy us on this point of law?" To this I replied in the negative, whereupon the Bedouins said "Fie on thee!" and they walked out At last they approached another jurist who was not even equal to any of my pupils in legal knowledge, and their difficulty was solved Satisfied with the solution of their problem, the Bedouins praised the man's ability and learning, while I sat bewildered and perplexed at my failure to solve the simple question in spite of my vast knowledge, and though not a bit from the stock of my knowledge was lessened, yet I felt it was, as it were a heavenly warning and a challenge to my self-conceit, and I thanked God for driving out this vice from me"⁴

Māwardī possessed high moral courage, and especially in religious matters he was bold and fearless He never hesitated to declare the truth to the very face of the rulers The following incident will serve as a fine illustration of his intrepid disposition —

In the year 429 A H., in the month of Ramadān, the Buwayhid prince Jalāl-ud-Dawlah asked the caliph's⁵ permission to assume the title

¹ *al-Muntazam*, VIII, p 199

² 'Abdul-Malik al-Hamadhānī, his pupil

³ Yāqūt, V, p 408

⁴ Māwardī, *Adab-ad-Dunya-wa'd-Dīn*, pp 40-41, Cairo 1327

⁵ The caliph at that time was al-Qā'im and not al-Muqtadir, whose name has been wrongly mentioned by Brockelmann (*Ency Islam*), al-Muqtadir was born in 448, 19 years after this event.

of "King of Kings" (*ملك الملوك*) The caliph resolved to confer this title on the prince and accordingly he gave orders to recite this title in the Friday Sermon (Khutbah) along with the prince's name When it was recited, there was a great commotion and the congregation showed their aversion to it and threw brickbats at the Imāms of the mosques by way of protest The caliph then asked the learned jurists to pronounce their legal opinion in the matter The learned jurists Qādi Abu't-Tayyib at-Tabarī (d. 450), Qādi Abū-'Abdillāh as-Saimarī, Qādi Ibn-ul-Baidāwī and Abu'l-Qāsim al-Karkhī held it permissible As-Saimarī wrote that in assuming such titles only the intention is to be considered as for instance God says He sent Tālūt as a king, the Qur'ān says "And there was besides them a king"¹ It is possible that there may be some one superior over the others in dignity and power and there can be no question of likeness between God and His creatures At-Tabarī wrote that it is lawful to call a man "King of Kings," which implies the king's superiority over all the kings of the earth, and when it is permissible to designate a person as Kāfī'l-Kufāt and Qādī'l-Qudāt (Judge of the Judges), on the same analogy it should also be held lawful to call a man King of Kings, because the intention in assuming this title is merely to claim the position of Ruler of the Earth At-Tabarī also added that the suspicion is removed when the Imāms pray in the mosque for the prince (along with this title) "O God make the king righteous," the invocation being to the Creator on behalf of the king. The Hanbalite jurist at-Tamīmī also supported this view But some jurists who entertained antagonistic opinions, held the title to be unlawful, as in their opinion no man had a right to designate himself as "King of Kings," because this title only befitted Almighty God The arguments of the protagonists did not appeal to Māwardī who opposed their views and vehemently repudiated their contention and carried on a vigorous campaign of controversy against them Although Māwardī was one of the favourite attendants of the court of Jalāl-ud-Dawlah and was his table-companion, he refrained from attending it and did not stir out of his home from the month of Ramadān to 'Id ul-Adhā (the sacrificial festival occurring on the 10th of the month of Dhul-Hijjah), on account of his opposition At last he was called by the prince to his court, and on his arrival he was given immediate audience in the prince's private chamber "Everybody knows," said Jalāl-ud-Dawlah, "that you have surpassed other Ulema in position and wealth on account of your being a favourite of the royal court Your opposition to my earthly desire was absolutely free from any selfish motive, which goes to prove your true love and sincere regard for the sacred ordinances of our holy Shari'at. Your trenchant religious fervour and unflinching moral courage have enhanced your esteem and position in my eyes, and that is why I have rewarded you by admitting you alone and have left the admission of other attendants of my court to your discretion, so as to make them realize that I have acquiesced in

your opinion. Thereupon Māwardī expressed his gratitude to the prince and granted audience to the persons waiting upon him ¹

DEATH

MĀWARDĪ breathed his last on Tuesday the 30th of Rabi'-I A H 450 (May, 1058) at Baghdad, at the age of 86 years. He was interred the next morning in the cemetery at the Gate of Harb (باب الحرب) ² His funeral prayers were led by his pupil al-Khatib of Baghdād, at the Friday Mosque of Madīnat-ul-Mansūr ³

It is strange to find the date of Māwardī's death fixed at 456 by Ibn al-Khatib, a later writer of the eighth century ⁴ But this is against the date given by all his biographers, especially his contemporary al-Khatib of Baghdād, who was present at Māwardī's funeral

Ibn-Batlān, a Christian physician of Baghdād (d. 455), has enumerated the great epidemics of his time to which within a few years contemporary men of letters fell a victim, and has thus provided us with a death-roll of

¹ Ibn-Jauzī, *al-Muntazam*, VIII, pp. 97-98, Ibn-Athīr, IX, p. 158, Subkī, III, p. 305. In this connection Ibn-Jauzī observes —

"Personally I concur with Māwardī's opinion because according to Hadīth the title is quite unlawful."

Then he has cited the following 3 traditions with their chains of Isnād as recorded in the corpus of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, in support of his contention —

a The perfidious name (before God) on Doomsday is that of a man who names himself King of Kings
 اجمع اسم يوم القيامة رجل يسمى ملك
 الا ملك

b Intolerable and most abominable is the person on Doomsday who names himself King of Kings, as the world does not belong to anyone except Allāh
 واعظ رجل على الله يوم القيامة واحد
 رجل يسمى ملك الاملاك لا ملك الا الله

c The wrath of God will be incurred by a man who is killed by his Prophet, and by a man who names himself King of Kings and the world belongs to none but Allāh the Great
 اشد عصب الله على رجل مله به واشد
 عصب الله على رجل يسمى ملك الا ملك
 لا ملك الا الله سبحانه وتعالى

Commenting on this incident as-Subkī observes that God's will made itself manifest, as only six years after the event the Buwayhid rule was cut short by the demise of the prince Jalāl-ud-Dawlah in 435 A H

² A quarter at Baghdād named after Harb b 'Abdullāh al-Balkhī ar-Rāwandī, the general of the caliph al-Manṣūr. The remains of Bishr al-Hāfi, al-Khatib and other Muslim celebrities are interred in the cemetery situated in this quarter. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam-ul-Buldān*, II, p. 15, III, p. 245

³ *Tārīkh Baghdād*, No. 6539. The Jāmi'-ul-Madīna or Madīnat-ul-Manṣūr was built by Manṣūr the 'Abbasid caliph. It existed when Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa visited Baghdād in 727/1327, but at present no trace of this mosque is to be found

⁴ *Kitāb-al-Wafayāt*, p. 22, by Abu'l-'Abbās Ahmad b. Husain b. 'Alī, known as Ibn-ul-Khatib, edited by M. Hidayat Husain in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, New Series, Vol. VIII, 1912

distinguished savants,¹ including Māwardī, at the end of which he remarks
 ' On their departure the torch of learning was extinguished and the human intellect remained groping in the dark "

AS AN AUTHOR

In the galaxy of Muslim writers and authors, Māwardī occupies a prominent place. He was a prolific writer and composed several books on various subjects. Qur'ānic commentary, Hadīth, jurisprudence, politics, ethics and grammar. The main theme of his works was Islamic law, on which he was engaged for a number of years.

It appears that Māwardī wrote two books, viz *al-Ahkām-as-Sultāniyya* and *al-Iqnā'*, at the instance of contemporary rulers, and about the latter work we are informed by Yāqūt that it was written in compliance with the order of al-Qādir-Billāh, the Abbasid caliph (d. 422), but since the book has been lost, we are unable to verify this statement. In respect of *Ahkām* we learn from the author himself that the book was composed by the order of some contemporary ruler under whom Māwardī served. He writes in the prologue of his book —

" The constitutional laws of the Empire, which are obligatory on the officials of the State, have been so mixed up with other laws that the officials could not go through them carefully on account of their pre-occupation with political and administrative affairs. I therefore brought out a separate book on the subject, and in so doing I have obeyed the order of one to whom obeisance is obligatory, in order to enable him to understand the views of the jurists on the matters with which he ought to be thoroughly acquainted, and to have a clear insight into the pros and cons of the subject."²

From the above statement it can be easily inferred that Māwardī was prompted to write this book at the instance of the caliph al-Qā'im

1 The following celebrities are mentioned by Ibn-Batān —

Theologians — Al-Murtada, Abu'l-Hasan al-Basrī, Abul-Husain al-Qudūrī the Jurist, Chief Justice al-Māwardī, Qādī Abu't-Tayyib at-Ṭabari

Philosophers and Scientists — Abū 'Alī Ibn-Haitham, Abū Sa'īd al-Yamāmi, Abū 'Alī ibn us-Samh Sa'īd the Physician, Abu'l-Faraj 'Abdullāh ibn at-Tabīb

Literary men and poets — 'Alī b. 'Isa ar-Rabī, Abu'l-Fath of Nisābūr, Mihyār the poet, Abu'l-'Adab Nazik, Abū-'Alī b. Muselaya, Abu'l-Hasan aṣ-Ṣābi, Abu'l-'Ala-al-Ma'arri

2 *Ahkām*, p. 2, Cairo

The original text runs as under —

" لما كانت الاحكام السلطانية بولاية الامور احق، وكان امتزاجها بمجموع الاحكام لقطيعهم عن تصحيحها مع تشاغلهم بالسياسة والتدبير، اردت لها كتابا امتثلت فيه امر من لزم طاعته ليعلم مذاهب الفقهاء ومباليها منها يستوفيها "

Since Māwardī, unlike other Arabic authors, is not in the habit of giving dates of composition at the end of his books, it is not possible to fix the dates and times of their composition

Ibn-Khallikān, followed by Safadī and Subkī, has related a curious anecdote about the publication of Māwardī's works which runs as follows —

“ It is said that, whilst he lived, he did not publish any of his works, but put them all up together in a (safe) place, and that, on the approach of death he said to a person who possessed his confidence —

‘ The books in such a place were composed by me, but I abstained from publishing them, because I suspected that, although my intention in writing them was to work in God's service, that feeling, instead of being pure, was sullied by baser motives. Therefore, when you perceive me at the point of death and falling into agony, take my hand in yours, and if I press it, you will know thereby that none of these works has been accepted from me, in this case, you must take them all and throw them by night into the Tigris, but if I open my hand and close it not, that is the sign of their having been accepted and that my hope in the admission of my intention as sincere and pure has been fulfilled ’

“ ‘When al-Māwardī's death drew near,’ said that person, ‘ I took him by the hand. He opened it without closing it into mine, whence I knew that his labours had been accepted and then I published his works ’ ”¹

Commenting on this story Subkī remarks that if the story be true, it only pertains to his book *al-Hāwī*, as he (Subkī) had seen several of Māwardī's books bearing his attestation showing that they were read with him by his pupils in his life-time.² But it is rather strange to find that Tāsh Koprüzāda, while quoting Subkī, writes that the story may be true about Māwardī's other books but not about *al-Hāwī*.³

The story appears incredible on account of its improbability, as we have already seen that two books of Māwardī were written at the instance of contemporary rulers. It has also come to our knowledge that Māwardī's commentary was read with him in his life-time by a Spanish scholar. We do not know how this apocryphal account found its way into his biographical notice. It may perhaps have been invented by one of his ingenious opponents in order to discredit him for having written books without a pure motive at the instance of the princes and rulers for the sake of worldly gain.

1 De Slane's English translation, Vol II, p. 225

2 Subkī, II, p. 303-304

3 *Miftāh*, II, p. 191

The man who published Māwardī's books was most probably his pupil Muhammad b. 'Ubaiddāh, the Qādi of Basra (d. 499) as we learn from Yāqūt that he transmitted (دری) all the books from his master¹

LIST OF HIS WORKS

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| ۱- تفسیر الماوردی (الکت و العیون) | ۸- امثال القرآن |
| ۲- کتاب الحاوی فی المروع | ۹- الاقناع فی المذهب |
| ۳- الاحکام السلطانه | ۱۰- ادب الدین و الدین |
| ۴- قوانین الوزارة و سیاسه الملك | ۱۱- الکافی شرح مختصر المعنی |
| ۵- تسهیل المصروع تعجیل الطفر | ۱۲- کتاب فی الحو |
| ۶- اعلام السوء | ۱۳- کتاب فی السیره السویه |
| ۷- ادب القاصی | ۱۴- کتاب فی البیوع |

QAZI AHMAD MIAN AKHTAR.

¹ *Irshād*, VII, p. 30. He died in 499, and according to Ibn-Athīr (X, p. 145) at that time his age was 83; thus he was 34 years of age when Māwardī died in 450.

THE DECCAN POLICY AND CAMPAIGNS OF THE MUGHAL

CONFUSED AFFAIRS OF THE DECCAN INVITE AKBAR'S INTERFERENCE

HAVING consolidated his power in Northern India, it was but natural that Akbar should have undertaken the task of the systematic penetration of the Deccan in order to bring it under his imperial sway. It was Akbar's ambition to extend his dominion over all the petty kingdoms in India lying within the possible range of his sword, and then to undertake the conquest of Central Asia (Turan), the country of his ancestors. Although obliged by other preoccupations in the north to defer his undertaking of bringing the Deccan under his sphere of influence, it was almost certain that, his work in Malwa and Gujerat done, Akbar would turn his attention to the south of the Narbada. Thus the force of political circumstances proved once again that the Deccan could not possibly remain aloof from the general political trends of the country as a whole. It was once more inevitably drawn into the vortex of North Indian politics.

It seems that Akbar considered the Deccan to be a traditional dependency of the North Indian Mughal rulers from the time of Tīmūr. When the latter captured Delhi in 1498-99, Sultān Fīrūz Shāh, the Bahmanī ruler of the Deccan, with a view to enhancing his own influence and prestige, sent him ambassadors with rich presents and a letter acknowledging Tīmūr's overlordship over the whole of India. Tīmūr is said to have received the ambassadors graciously and accepted the presents. The ambassadors, according to their royal master's instructions, represented to Tīmūr that the ruler of the Deccan was prepared to co-operate with him wholeheartedly in his career of conquest, whenever he was ordered to do so. Tīmūr was much pleased at this gratuitous offer of aid by the Bahmanī ruler. In token of his appreciation Tīmūr conferred the sovereignty of the Deccan, Malwa and Gujerat on Fīrūz Shāh, with permission to use the canopy and all the other insignia of royalty. The ambassadors stayed at Tīmūr's court for nearly six months, at the end of which period Tīmūr delivered to them a Farmān, containing the formal cession of Gujerat and Malwa, together with a sword studded with precious stones, a royal robe, and four beautiful Syrian horses for their Bahmanī master.¹

¹ Farishta, p. 312 (Lucknow edition)

In the sixteenth century the Bahmanī kingdom of the Deccan was split up into five independent Sultanates. They were (1) The 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty of Bijapur, (2) the Nizām Shāhī dynasty of Ahmadnagar, (3) the Qutb Shāhī dynasty of Golconda, (4) the 'Imād Shāhī of Berar, and (5) the Barid Shāhīs of Bidar. The perpetual confusion and discord which followed the break-up of the Bahmanī power exposed the Deccan to ever-increasing misrule. The kingdoms of Bijapur and Ahmednagar were frequently at war, except for the short period of respite when their differences were temporarily composed by two matrimonial alliances, Hādiya Sultāna, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh's sister being given in marriage to Murtuda Nizām Shāh and Chānd Bibī, the latter's sister, to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh. By this second alliance the vexed question of Sholapur was laid to rest, as the latter fortress was given as Chānd Bibī's dowry. The Sultāns of Bijapur and Ahmednagar discovered to their own cost and utter humiliation that unless they united against Sadashivaraya of Vijayanagar, their very existence would be jeopardised. The offensive alliance of the four Sultāns of Bijapur, Ahmednagar, Golconda and Bidar was formed at Sholapur in 1564. The allied Sultāns moved southwards near the bank of Krishna and utterly defeated the Vijayanagar forces. In history the battle is known as the battle of Talikota (1565), because the allied Sultāns had made as their joint headquarters that town distant about thirty miles from the battlefield. Talikota was one of the most decisive conflicts recorded in the course of Indian history. It broke for ever the power of Vijayanagar, which had been taking advantage of the dissensions of the Deccan Sultāns and threatening to devour them one by one.

Within less than two years of the battle of Talikota, the traditional senseless disputes between Ahmednagar and Bijapur arose again. In 1567 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, provoked by Murtuda Nizām Shāh's persistent hostility, invaded his kingdom under the command of Kishwar Khān Ibrāhīm. Qutb Shāh joined Murtuda Nizām Shāh but very soon he fell out and was driven to Golconda by his own ally. Later on Murtuda conciliated Ibrāhīm lest he should join 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh. After several years of internecine warfare a treaty was concluded which permitted Ahmednagar to annex Berar and Bidar, and Bijapur to annex in the Carnatic the equivalent territory.

While these confused struggles were going on in which Ahmednagar and Bijapur served as principals, Golconda, being a weaker kingdom than the other two, frequently changed sides in accordance with its own interests, the corner-stone of its policy was to maintain the balance of power in the Deccan by playing off one hostile force against another with a view to securing its own independence. Bidar and Berar were much weaker and were finally absorbed by their more powerful neighbours. The struggle for power among the Deccan Sultāns in the sixteenth century prompted each to checkmate the other, making the history of this period nothing but a dreary waste of endless strife and intrigue. The wars of the Sultāns

were almost perpetual, their treaties never honestly carried out. No wonder this unedifying condition of affairs made Akbar covet for himself the possession of the territories south of the Narbada.

Even during the time of the Emperor Humāyūn, the kings of the Deccan were much perturbed by the former's presence in Khandesh for a short while. On the occasion of his expedition to Mālwa, Humāyūn marched right up to Burhanpur in his lust for conquest. Muhammad Shāh of Khandesh begged him to spare his small kingdom the horrors of invasion, and at the same time he invited the Deccan Sultāns to form a confederacy for the defence of the Deccan. In apprehension of Humāyūn's invasion further south, Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmednagar, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur, Sultān Qulī Qutb Shāh of Golconda, and Darya 'Imād Shāh of Berar entered into an alliance against the Mughals after the defeat of Bahādur Shāh of Gujerat at Mandu. But the fears of the Sultāns were ill-founded. Humāyūn was too much harrassed by the subversive activities of Bahādur Shāh's Amīrs in Gujerat to undertake the Deccan expedition. His operations in Khandesh were not meant to be more than a sort of a military promenade in order to overawe into inactivity the ruler of this principality, who happened to be on very friendly terms with Bahādur Shāh, the ruler of Gujerat. Moreover, Humāyūn's presence was urgently needed in the eastern provinces of the Empire, where Shēr Shāh had gathered a considerable force of Afghans under his banner, and was already aggrandising himself, taking advantage of the misrule obtaining in these parts of the country.

When the danger of Humāyūn's attack was past, the Deccan Sultāns took to their old rivalries again. Bahādur Shāh of Gujerat courted Burhān Nizām Shāh's favour in order to get some aid from him in the attack he then meditated against Humāyūn. He was, however, disappointed, for Burhān Nizām Shāh not only withheld his assistance, but sent a secret agent to Humāyūn to obtain his help for the purpose of invading Gujerat. But he did not receive any help or encouragement from Humāyūn, as the latter was preoccupied with his own affairs.¹

Since Mahmūd Gāwān's invasion, the rulers of Khandesh had learnt to regard the kings of Gujerat as their natural protectors and allies. They even kept an agent at the court of the king of Gujerat and for all practical purposes recognised his suzerainty. Bahādur Shāh of Gujerat, besides being a near relative, was on such friendly terms with Muhammad Shāh of Khandesh that he designated the latter as the heir presumptive to his throne, not having any issue himself. When a quarrel arose between Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmednagar and Muhammad Shāh of Khandesh, Bahādur Shāh immediately came to the latter's rescue, and similarly Muhammad Shāh of Khandesh, on his part assisted Bahādur Shāh in his campaigns in Rajputana and Malwa. Even after Humāyūn had retired from Gujerat he had left some of his Amīrs to retain possession of the

¹ Farishta, p. 215

province. The Mughal pressure prompted Bahādur Shāh to enter into treaty relations with the Portuguese. Thus while on a visit to Diu to see Nunho da Cunha, the Portuguese Governor, he was cruelly done to death. Now great confusion prevailed in Gujerat. Muhammad Shāh of Khandesh, who had been appointed heir to the Gujerat throne by Bahādur Shāh, set out from Burhanpur to ascend the throne of Gujerat, but died on the way to Champaner. Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā, brother-in-law of Humāyūn, claimed the throne of Gujerat on the ground that Bahādur Shāh's mother had adopted him as her son. The Mīrzā continued to have their strongholds in Gujerat till Emperor Akbar resolved to free that part of the country from their rebellious power. Some of them sought protection by entering into the service of the Deccan kings, which was a source of perpetual irritation to Akbar.

In 1561, Akbar, after having ascertained the real state of affairs in Malwa, sent an expedition under the command of Adham Khān Kokaltāsh assisted by Pīr Muhammad Khān Bāz Bahādur, the ruler of Malwa, whose sensuality had rendered him obnoxious to his subjects, was utterly defeated and took refuge in Burhanpur under the protection of Mubārak Shāh, the ruler of Khandesh. By the latter's aid Bāz Bahādur made incursions into Malwa to harass the imperial forces. Pīr Muhammad Khān who had now become governor of Malwa after Adham Khān had been recalled to court, marched against Burhanpur and took it by storm. He sacked the town, massacred its inhabitants including some very learned persons, and committed the most horrible atrocities in Khāndesh. Bāz Bahādur and Mubārak Shāh shut themselves in the fortress of Asir which the Mughals failed to capture. In the meantime they appealed to Tufail Khān, who had usurped the government of Berar, to come to their rescue. Tufail Khān joined the rulers of Khandesh and Malwa to put up a united front against the Mughals. The allies assembling their forces marched against Pīr Muhammad Khān. As his men were pursuing their straggling march homeward, laden with spoil, Pīr Muhammad made an attempt to beat off the pursuers, but he was ill-supported.¹ Pīr Muhammad found himself unable to resist as his troops had been so utterly demoralised by debauch and so enriched by spoils that they had no desire to risk their booty in action. He gave half-hearted battle at Bijagarh and was badly routed by the allies. Many of the Amīrs and soldiery had already betaken themselves to the court of the Emperor without Pīr Muhammad Khān's permission, leaving him to follow with all the heavy baggage and military stores. Those who had thus quitted Malwa and had come to court without orders were imprisoned for a time and then set at liberty. Pīr Muhammad Khān, while he was crossing the Narbada, was drowned. To use Badāōnī's eloquent phrase "by way of water he went to fire, and the

1 Akbar Nāma, Vol II, p 168 (text)

2 Ṭabaqāt-i-Abkarī, p 257 (text)

sighs of the orphans, of the weak, and of the captives did their work with him."¹

Pir Muhammad's defeat and death was a great shock to imperial prestige in the Deccan. In 1564, Akbar appointed 'Abdullāh Khān Uzbek and Ahmad Khān Farankhudā to recover Malwa and try to retrieve the disaster that had befallen the imperial arms. 'Abdullāh Khān displayed great activity and resolution in pursuing Bāz Bahādūr, who had temporarily gained possession of Malwa. Bāz Bahādūr, after sustaining several defeats, took refuge with Rana Uday Singh of Chitor, but eventually he threw himself upon the mercy of the Emperor and was granted a Mansab of 2,000.² Mandu was occupied by the Mughals and Mughal administration was re-established throughout the whole of Malwa.

'Abdullāh Khān's victories in Malwa had turned his head, and he began to entertain ideas of revolting against the Central Government. Akbar, alive to the new danger, resolved to check his activities before they took the form of open sedition.³ He gave orders to organise an expedition to chastise this presumptuous rebel, and he himself, at the head of the army, marched to Mandu from Agra. 'Abdullāh Khān, greatly alarmed at the Emperor's approach, fled towards Gujarat. Akbar remained at Mandu for nearly a month. He appointed Qarā Bahādūr Khān to the Government of Malwa, and gave him suitable directions regarding the administration of the country.

In 1564, Akbar's Amīrs captured several fortresses lying on the borders of Malwa and Khandesh. The Zamīndars of the neighbourhood came to pay their obeisance to the Emperor and were met with a gracious reception. Mubārak Shāh, the ruler of Khandesh, consulted his interest in sending his apologies as well as presents by his ambassadors, so that his past actions might graciously be overlooked by the Emperor. After some days the ambassadors obtained leave to return to Khandesh with the imperial message. It was agreed that Mubārak Shāh should willingly acknowledge Akbar's suzerainty and should henceforth cause the *Khutba* to be recited in all mosques of Khandesh in Akbar's name. It was also agreed that he should give his daughter in marriage to the Emperor and should give as her dowry the districts of Bijagarh and Handya. Akbar seems to have had no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of Khandesh, but he certainly wanted to control her foreign policy in order to be in a position to get military assistance whenever the imperial armies undertook operations in Central India or the Deccan. This treaty served only as a preliminary to the work which he had at heart, viz the establishment of Mughal supremacy in the Deccan.

During the following ten years after the annexation of Malwa, confused struggles took place in the Deccan, tedious and uninteresting in their de-

1 *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Vol II, 1051 (text)

2 *Akbar Nāma* Vol II, p 169. See also *Ma'āthir-ul-Umara*, Vol I, p 391

3 *Ibid*, p 221 (text)

tails, in which Khandesh was inevitably involved. In 1574, Murtuda Nizām Shāh I of Ahmednagar marched to Berar, drove Tufail Khān from Elichpur, and compelled him and his son Shamshir-ul-Mulk to seek asylum in Burhanpur, whence he applied for assistance to the Emperor Akbar.¹ But as Mubārak was averse to alienating Murtuda Nizām Shāh by giving refuge to Tufail Khān for a long time, Tufail Khān returned to Berar and took refuge in the fortress of Narnala.² Akbar sent an envoy to Murtuda Nizām Shāh requiring him to desist from the annexation of Berar, but no attention was paid to the message. Tufail Khān and his son were captured and prisoned.³

As the occupation of Berar by Ahmednagar upset the balance of power in the Deccan, 'Alī 'Adil Shāh of Bijapur and Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh of Golconda both disapproved of it, and the latter even went to the extent of sending a secret mission to the ruler of Khandesh to attempt the recovery of Berar, in which undertaking full support was promised. Sayyid Zain-ud-Dīn, prime minister of Khandesh, with the approval of his ruler, marched to Berar with three thousand horse.⁴ He also received material assistance from 'Alī 'Adil Shāh as well as from Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh.⁵ Sayyid Zain-ud-Dīn succeeded in defeating the Nizām Shāh's forces at several places and occupied a great portion of the country. Murtuda Nizām Shāh returned to Berar himself, obliged Sayyid Zain-ud-Dīn to take to flight and his adherents to disperse. He now turned towards Khandesh and ravaged the country penetrating right up to Burhanpur. Mirān Muhammad Shāh took refuge in the fortress of Asirgarh. Changīz Khān Isfahānī, Vakīl of Ahmednagar, sacked Burhanpur and laid siege to the fortress of Asirgarh. Mirān Muhammad Shāh was compelled to sue for peace. A treaty was entered into according to which the Nizāmshāhī forces agreed to evacuate the territories of Khandesh on payment of nine hundred thousand Muzaffaris.⁶ It was also stipulated that this sum should be paid in cash before the Nizām Shāhī armies crossed the river Tapti at Burhanpur.⁷ Curiously enough, Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, receiving intelligence of the failure of his designs in Berar, sent his ambassador Mīrzā Isfahānī with presents to Murtuda Nizām Shāh congratulating him on his victory.⁸

1 Farishta, p. 136

2 *Burhān-i-Ma'āşir* p. 467 (text)

3 Farishta, p. 137

4 *Ibid.*, p. 137. According to *Burhān-i-Ma'āşir* Sayyid Zain-ud-Dīn sent twenty thousand horse to help the Beraris. But this is probably an exaggeration (p. 477).

5 *Burhān-i-Ma'āşir*, p. 478 (text)

6 *Ibid.*, p. 482. According to Farishta (p. 138 text) an indemnity of six hundred thousand Muzaffaris was paid and four hundred thousand were given to Changīz Khān as a gift for arranging the treaty. (Muzaffari was a silver coin which was current at this time in Gujerat and was equivalent to half a rupee). It was first struck in the reign of Muzaffar Shāh III of Gujerat and became current in Khandesh in the sixteenth century.

7 *Burhān-i-Ma'āşir*, p. 482

8 Farishta, p. 138. In *Burhān-e-Ma'āşir* the name of the ambassador is Sayyid Mīr, p. 482 (text).

Mīrān Muhammad Shāh, ruler of Khandesh, died in 1576. His uterine brother, Rājā 'Alī Khān, setting aside the deceased monarch's infant son, became the ruler of Khandesh with the approval of the chief nobility of the country. According to Farishta, Rājā 'Alī Khān was at Akbar's court at Agra when he received intelligence of his brother's death. But the author of *Zafar al-Wāliḥ* says that Rājā 'Alī Khān was present at his brother's death-bed.¹ Rājā 'Alī Khān, feeling his position insecure in relation to Emperor Akbar who had obtained possession of Malwa, Gujerat and Bengal, refrained from displeasing or offending him in any way. He cultivated friendly relations with the imperial court and even abstained from using the title of Shāh in his correspondence with the imperial court.² In all the imperial chronicles he is known by the title of Rājā, which he probably adopted as being innocuous and inoffensive to the imperial court at Agra. It is certain that he used the title of 'Ādil Shāh within the limits of Khandesh as well as in his correspondence with the rulers of the Deccan.³ In matters of external policy Rājā 'Alī Khān acknowledged Akbar's suzerainty, while assuring to himself the exercise of internal autonomy. In fact the rulers of Khandesh had for long been accustomed to offer allegiance to Gujerat. Now they simply exchanged it for allegiance to Akbar, without in the least affecting their former political status.

In 1584, Burhān, younger brother of Murtuda Nizām Shāh of Ahmednagar, escaped in the disguise of a holy man from the fortress of Lohogarh, where he had been confined by his brother for a number of years. Burhān was actively supported by a party of Ahmednagar nobles who alleged that Murtuda Nizām Shāh was by his loss of mental balance rendered incapable of ruling a kingdom. Allured by promises of support Burhān appeared in arms and marched towards Ahmednagar at the head of six thousand horse, but was utterly defeated by Salābat Khān.⁴ He took flight towards Konkan. After two years, Burhān made another attempt to possess himself of the throne of Ahmednagar, but without success. After having failed in his second attempt, Burhān finally sought protection at the court of Akbar, where he was graciously received.⁵

Oddly enough, two years before he went to the imperial court another person had impersonated him there as Burhān. This person was still there and

¹ Haig *Indian Antiquary*, 1918, p. 144.

² Farishta, p. 288 (text).

³ *Indian Antiquary*, 1918, p. 144.

⁴ According to Farishta, passing through the street to the palace, Murtuda Nizām Shāh stopped his elephant at the shop of a druggist, and asked if he had any medicine that would cure madness, saying that he did not know who required it most, himself, who wished to live the life of a recluse and yet rule a kingdom, or his brother, who with the enjoyment of ease was plunging himself into public cares. The man is reported to have replied that his brother (Burhān) was the madman who could so ungratefully rebel against so kind a protector, and would not prosper in his treason.—p. 152 (text).

⁵ *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. III, p. 408, p. 152 (text).

had obtained the favour of the Emperor. On this occasion the two Burhāns were brought face to face and an investigation was held. The impostor was forced to confess: "I am the son of a certain Deccani who had the title of Hakim-ul-Mulk. The mother of Nizām-ul-Mulk had received me as a son, I was led astray by cupidity and short-sightedness."¹ The impostor fled and sought refuge with some Jogis, but he was arrested and imprisoned. The Emperor received Burhān with great honour and bestowed on him a considerable Jāgīr near Bangash on the borders of Afghanistan.

It was only once that Rāja 'Alī Khān of Khandesh came into conflict with Akbar's policy and purpose. Salābat Khān, the regent of Ahmednagar had alienated most of the nobility of the realm by his rule of terror. The feeble-minded Murtuda Nizām Shāh was a mere puppet in his hands. Resistance to his will was immediately followed by dismissal or disgrace. In 1584 a quarrel arose between him and Sayyid Murtuda, Governor of Berar. The latter marched on Ahmednagar in order to overthrow Salābat Khān's ministry and free the king from his tutelage. A trial of strength took place near Ahmednagar in which Sayyid Murtuda and his supporters fared badly and were compelled to retreat to Ellichpur with twelve thousand men. On being closely pursued Sayyid Murtuda fled towards Burhanpur and requested the assistance of Rāja 'Alī Khān, who had neither countenanced nor discouraged him in his resistance. When Sayyid Murtuda at the head of his army directed his march towards Malwa in order to invoke Akbar's aid, Rāja 'Alī Khān ordered his troops to pursue him. Sayyid Murtuda's forces sustained a defeat on the banks of the Nerbada. All their baggage and elephants fell into Rāja 'Alī Khān's hands. Probably Rāja 'Alī Khān did not favour Sayyid Murtuda's policy of inviting Akbar's interference in the domestic affairs of the Deccan. From Malwa Sayyid Murtuda and his principal lieutenant Khudāwand Khān Deccani² proceeded straight to Agra.³ Akbar received both of them cordially, appointing them to high military offices. Rāja 'Alī Khān became apprehensive at the elevation of the Deccan Amīrs in the imperial court and sent an envoy to Akbar to clarify his own position. He also sent rich presents, considerable sums of money, and one hundred and fifty elephants to the Emperor in charge of his own son, in token of his allegiance and loyalty. The gifts were accepted and necessary instructions were sent to Rāja 'Alī Khān regarding the impeding military expedition to the Deccan, in which he was expected to assist and co-operate whole-heartedly with the imperial forces.

Murtuda Nizām Shāh of Ahmednagar, whose behaviour had always given strong indications of insanity, took it into his head that his son, Mirān Husain, designed to dethrone him. He attempted to put him to

1 Akbar Nāmāh, III, p. 408

2 Khudāwand Khān Deccani married Abul-Faḍl's sister and rose high in the emperor's favour.

3 Burhān-i-Ma'āshir, p. 548, Farishta, p. 288

death, but the prince managed to escape and shortly afterwards put his father to death by suffocating him in a heated bath. Mīrān Husain Nizām Shāh was wholly evil, the slave of filthy vices. Ultimately he was killed and his cousin, son of Burhān, was raised to the throne in April 1589. During the latter's short reign Jamāl Khān reserved all power to himself, which fact made him extremely unpopular among the nobles of the realm. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II of Bijapur wanted to take full advantage of the dissensions prevailing at Ahmednagar. So Dilāwar Khān, the regent of Bijapur, marched against Ahmednagar in order to interfere in the internal affairs of the latter kingdom and also to liberate the widowed sister of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, named Khadija, wife of the deceased Mīrān Husain Nizām Shāh. Jamāl Khān encountered the Bijapur armies at Ashti. The two armies halted in the vicinity of each other for two weeks without making any hostile movement. Ultimately peace was concluded according to which it was agreed that Khadija should be sent to Bijapur and that the Nizāmshāhī Government should pay an indemnity of seventy thousand Huns to Bijapur.

When Akbar was apprised of the state of confusion in the Ahmednagar Kingdom, he recalled Burhān from his Jāgīr of Bangash, and offered him a suitable force to recover his kingdom by ousting his son and his despotic minister, Jamāl Khān. But Burhān Nizām Shāh, who knew full well the possible reaction to this step on his part, requested the Emperor to allow him to depart for the Deccan with his own dependants, as his authority would be odious to the people of Ahmednagar if he proceeded there at the head of a Mughal contingent. Akbar appreciated the plea advanced by Burhān and gave him permission to return to his country. Akbar also wrote to Khān A'zam Mīrzā 'Azīz Koka, his foster-brother and at that time governor of Malwa, and to Rājā 'Alī Khān, ruler of Khandesh, to give all possible support to Burhān. The imperial district of Hindia was placed at Burhān's disposal to meet the expenses of his army till he should recover the throne of Ahmednagar.

When Burhān reached the frontier of Ahmednagar, he received overtures from many of the nobility, who were prepared to welcome his rule. He first invaded Berar but was defeated. Compelled to take to flight, he sought refuge in Khandesh, where Rājā 'Alī Khān, in compliance with Akbar's commands, not only assisted him with men and money which he sorely needed, but also secured for him Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh's sympathy and co-operation.¹ An army from Bijapur under Dilāwar Khān diverted Jamāl Khān's attention by invading Ahmednagar territories from the south. But Jamāl Khān managed to defeat Dilāwar Khān's forces at Dhāraseo, and hastened towards the north where some of the Berar officers had already joined Burhān and Rājā 'Alī Khān.² The two armies

¹ *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. III, p. 587 (text).

² *Amjad-ul-Mulk*, 'Azmat-ul-Mulk, Saif-ul-Mulk, Shujā'at Khān, Jahāngīr Khān, SadrKhān and 'Azīz-ul-Mulk and other leaders and nobles joined Burhān (*Akbar Nāma*, p. 587).

met at Rohankhed on May 7, 1591. Jamāl Khān was killed by a musket shot and his army, having lost its leader, took to flight in different directions. Ismā'il Nizām Shāh was captured and placed in confinement. Burhān with his ally Rājā 'Alī Khān marched on to Ahmednagar and declared himself king under the title of Burhān Nizām Shāh II.

After getting possession of his kingdom, Burhān Nizām Shāh, instead of showing his gratitude and fidelity to the Mughal Emperor, forgot the favours he had received from the latter and completely ignored him. Akbar was not one to pardon an injury received from one whom he believed to be his friend. Dilāwar Khān's defeat led to his downfall in Bijapur. He took refuge in Bidar and then in Ahmednagar where he was appointed to a high rank. With plausible arguments he induced Burhān Nizām Shāh to attack Bijapur. Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh contented himself with despatching Rūmī Khān, at the head of ten thousand troops, to cut off the supplies of the Ahmednagar army. Greatly distressed by the guerilla tactics of the Bijapur army, Burhān Nizām Shāh was compelled to retire towards his frontier to revictual his troops. Rājā 'Alī Khān, Burhān's chief ally, exerted himself to bring about peace between Bijapur and Ahmednagar and in this endeavour he succeeded. Burhān Nizām Shāh agreed to demolish the fortress that he had erected on the bank of the Bhima.

In August 1591, Akbar sent four diplomatic missions to the four rulers of the Deccan in order to find out the real state of affairs obtaining there and also to see whether they were willing to acknowledge his suzerainty without further sanctions. Shaikh Faidī was sent to Khandesh and was directed to proceed to Burhān Nizām Shāh after he had finished his work at Burhanpur, Khwāja Amīn-ud-Dīn was sent to Ahmednagar, Mīr Muhammad Amīn was sent to Bijapur, and Mīr Mirza to the ruler of Golconda. Faidī, in his letters written to Akbar while he was absent on his mission to the Deccan, throws some light upon the nature of the political relations existing between the ruler of Khandesh and the Mughal Emperor.¹ In 1593, the missions returned to the imperial capital. Their reports were

¹ An extract from this is reproduced here —

“After travelling a long distance, and accomplishing many stages, I arrived on the 20th of the month of December at a place fifty Kos from Burhanpur, and the next day pitched my camp and arranged my tent in a manner befitting a servant of the court. The tent was so arranged as to have two chambers in the second or innermost of which a Royal Throne was placed. The Royal sword and the dresses of honour were placed on the throne, as well as Your Majesty's letter, whilst men were standing around with folded hands. The horses also, that were to be given away, were standing in their proper place. Rājā 'Alī Khān, accompanied by his followers, and the Wakil and Magistrate of the Dakhan, approached with that respect and reverence that betokened their obedience and goodwill to Your Majesty. They dismounted some distance from the tent and were admitted into the outer chamber. They approached respectfully and were permitted to proceed onwards. When they entered the second chamber, and saw the Royal Throne at some distance from there, they saluted it, and advanced with bare feet. When they arrived at a certain distance, they were directed to stand and made their salutations, which they did most respectfully, and continued standing in the place. I then took the Royal

(Continued on p. 311).

not favourable, as they showed that the Deccan kings had no inclination to offer unconditional allegiance to the Mughal Emperor. Burhān Nizām Shāh neither sent the customary tribute, nor did he act in a way that showed his gratitude to Akbar. So the Emperor determined to effect the conquest of Ahmednagar.

In April 1595, Burhān Nizām Shāh died, and was succeeded by his elder son, Ibrāhīm. Ibrāhīm Nizām Shāh embroiled himself with Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II and was slain in battle after a short reign of four months. This was the signal for anarchy in the kingdom of Ahmednagar, the peace of which was now totally destroyed and its military weakness and political disunion exposed to the world. There were four political parties, each having its own candidate for the Nizām Shāhī throne. Chānd Bibī, who had returned to Ahmednagar, espoused the cause of Bahādūr, the infant son of Ibrāhīm Nizām Shāh. Miyyān Manjhu, Ibrāhīm Nizām Shāh's chief minister and leader of the Deccan party, acknowledged Ahmad II, son of

(Continued from p. 310)

letter in both hands, and calling him (Rājā 'Alī Khān) a little nearer, said, 'His Majesty, the Vicegerent of God, has sent Your Highness two Royal orders with the greatest condescension and kindness. This is one.' On this, he took the letter and put it on his head respectfully, and saluted it three times. I then said, 'His Majesty has bestowed on Your Highness a dress of honour.' Upon this he bowed, kissed it, and bowed again. In the same way he did homage for the sword, and bowed every time Your Majesty's name was mentioned. He then observed, 'I have for years wished to be seated in your presence,' and at the same time, he appeared anxious to do so. Whereupon I requested him to be seated, and he respectfully sat down in your humble servant's presence. When a fitting opportunity offered itself, I addressed him warily, and said that I could show him how he might promote his interest, but the chief part of my discourse consisted of praises and eulogiums of Your Majesty. He replied that he was a devoted servant of Your Majesty, and considered himself highly favoured that he had seen Your Majesty's good-will and favour. I replied, 'His Majesty's kindness towards you is great. He looks upon you as a most intimate friend, and reckons you among his confidential servants, the greatest proof of which is that he has sent a man of rank to you.' At this he bowed several times, and seemed pleased. During the time I twice made signs that I wished the audience to close, but he said, 'I am not yet satisfied with my interview, and wish to sit here till the evening.' He sat there for four or five Gharhis (an hour and a half). At last the betel-leaf and scents were brought. I asked him to give them to me with his own hands. I gave him several pieces of betel with my own hands at which he bowed several times. I then said, 'Let us repeat the prayers for the eternal life and prosperity of His Majesty,' which he did most respectfully, and the audience was broken up. He then went and stood respectfully in this place at the edge of the carpet opposite the throne. The Royal horses were there. He kissed the reins, placed them on his shoulder, and saluted them. He then took his departure. My attendant counted and found that he made altogether twenty-five Salams. He was exceedingly happy and contented. When he first came in, he said, 'If you command me, I am ready to make 1000 Salams in honour of His Majesty. I am ready to sacrifice my life for him.' I observed, 'Such conduct befits friendship and feelings such as yours, but His Majesty's orders forbid such adoration and whenever the courtiers perform such adoration out of their feelings of devotion, His Majesty forbids them, for such acts of worship are for God alone.'

(*Latīfa-i-Faidi*, Pers. Insha, 324, Aṣāfiya Library, Hyderabad (Deccan), Elliot, *History of India* Vol. VI, p. 147-49)

Shāh Tāhūr¹ Ikhlās Khān, leader of the Abyssinians, supported the claim of Mōtī Shāh, a child of unknown origin. Āhang Khān, leader of another African faction, put forward the claim of the old prince, 'Alī, the third son of Burhān Nizām Shāh I, to the throne of Ahmednagar. All the four parties solicited support from Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, who warned them against the common Mughal danger but without any effect. Each party strove to hoodwink the other and to advance its own private interests in the confusion. Miyyān Manjhū in a fit of desperation sent an appeal to Prince Murād, then in Gujerat, to march to his assistance. Now the time was ripe for Akbar to undertake his scheme of the conquest of the Deccan with the full majesty of Mughal strength.

YUSUF HUSAIN KHAN.

1 Shāh Tāhūr claimed to be the son of Prince Muhammad Khudābanda, son of Burhān Nizām Shāh I (1509-1553), who fled to Bengal from Ahmednagar after the accession of his brother, Husām Nizām Shāh. At the close of Murtuda Nizām Shāh's reign a person calling himself Shāh Tāhūr, arrived at Daulatabad giving out that Prince Muhammad Khudābanda died in Bengal and that he was his son. Šalābat Khān and other nobles tried to ascertain the statement but they failed to clear up the mystery owing to the distance of Bengal. Anyway it was considered desirable to confine Shāh Tāhūr in a fortress as he might anyday set up pretension to the throne of Ahmednagar. But the whole story was refuted by Burhān Nizām Shāh, then at Akbar's court by stating to some of the Ahmednagar nobles who had gone all the way to Agra to find out the truth about the pretender, that his uncle Prince Muḥammad Khudābanda died in his house and the latter's family was with him at Agra. Thus if any one pretended to be Prince Muhammad Khudābanda's son, he was an impostor. Shāh Tāhūr died, after some years, in confinement leaving a son named Aḥmad, whose claim to Ahmednagar throne was supported by Miyyān Manjhū's faction (Farishta, p. 158).

TWO URDU NEWSPAPERS OF MADRAS IN PRE-MUTINY DAYS¹

IF a popular newspaper holds up the mirror to the culture of any people, the language, policy, purpose, and characteristics of the *A'zam-ul-Akhhbār* (the Great Newspaper) certainly reflect the culture of the Muslims of Madras in the middle of the 19th century. The language of the grandiloquently named newspaper was the Southern Indian Urdu of the court of the last Nawab of the Carnatic (Karnatak), who wielded plenary authority in internal affairs without interference from the Governor-in-Council of Fort St. George. Its policy was to widen the narrow outlook of its readers by promoting learning, so as to instil in them a spirit of real patriotism. Its purpose was generally to promote unity among Indians of all classes and creeds and particularly to champion the cause of the rising generation.

Apart from the publishers' determination to publish only new matter unpublished before or elsewhere, there appeared now and again, under the caption of "Useful Discourses," very learned dissertations on chemistry or medicine, astronomy or geography, poetry or criticism, and so forth. Another characteristic of the Great Newspaper (*A'zam-ul-Akhhbār*) was to regale its readers with translations from English newspapers and to give explanations in Urdu of legal and other technical phrases or terms that were in vogue in the newly established civil and military courts of the Hon'ble East India Company, the latter being more particularly for the benefit of professional men, from lawyers to recruiting sergeants, who had to adapt themselves to English—which was to them a new language spoken in newly established institutions.

The *A'zam-ul-Akhhbār* was the first Urdu newspaper to be published in Madras. It was lithographed on ordinary white paper and published every Thursday. It contained ordinarily eight pages (12"×7.6") but some of its issues had ten pages. Each page was divided into two or three

¹ I am grateful to my friend Mr. Mohammad Ghouse for permitting me to use the old numbers of the newspapers which form the subject of this essay. I acknowledge also with thanks the valuable suggestions and assistance of my guru Nawab Sir Azam Jung Bahadur, K. C. I. E.

columns It was named after A'zam, the pen-name or Takhallus of Nawab Muhammad Ghouse Khan of Karnatak (Arcot) It bore the fine crest of the Nawab, often with, but sometimes without, decorated borders Its title-page had verses implying that the great man of a great name, A'zam, was its patron

مہربان امیدواروں پر نہ کیوں سرکار ہو کیوں نہ رحمت کی نظر اس کی ہمیں درکار ہو
اسم اعظم کا وظیفہ مطبع اعظم میں ہو نام سے جس کے یہ کاعد اعظم الا حار ہو¹

Several of its issues had only the bare title, but they invariably mentioned the numbers of the volume and of the particular issue, the former was on the top right-hand side, while the latter on the top left-hand side of "the front page" The day, date, month and year were of the Hijri era as well as of both the Christian and the Hindu eras All this occupied a considerable space of the title-page The editor's name did not appear on it, but at the close of the last page the publishers' name appeared as Hakīm Sayyid Muhammad and Company (مع شرکا) In some of the issues, the name of the publishers appeared thus "Hājī Sayyid Rustum, son of Mīr Sa'ī-ud-Dīn, and his Associates" The subscription to be paid in advance was one rupee per month or Rs 10 for a year, postage charges extra

اعظم الاحار - پچھسہ روز انتظار - قیمت یک روپیہ ماہوار - بیسگی سال کودس روپیہ ایک نار
محصول ڈاک خریدار دہمدار²

The charge for the publication of advertisements or any other matter, whether in prose or in verse, was, for regular subscribers only, one anna for the first line and half an anna for subsequent lines Those who were not subscribers could not claim this privilege They had to pay a flat rate of two annas per line The Weekly was lithographed and published from the Press called Matba'-ul-A'zam situated on the Wālājāhī High Road in Trimulkheri (Triplicane), Madras We will not comment on the language of the paper but will allow our readers to judge it for themselves We give but short extracts The disuse of the sign ے of the nominative of transitive verbs as well as the use of alliterations and rhyme are very noticeable

No defamatory matter or satirical composition was ever accepted by the editor In one of the issues a correspondent, whose contribution was most probably rejected as being defamatory of "nominal Ulema" and

1 How can the Sarkar not be kind to his favour-expecting subjects?

Why shall we not be in need of the Sarkar's kind thoughts?

The recitation of A'zam's name (Nawab Muhammad Ghouse Khan) should be pronounced in the A'zam's press

By the name of him, let this paper become the greatest newspaper (A'zam-ul-Akhhbār)

2 A'zam-ul-Akhhbār—Thursday is the day of its publication—subscription a rupee a month—Rs. 10 advance for a year—responsibility of postage on subscribers

“formal faqirs,” wrote to complain thus.

”عجب تماشہ ہے کہ اس سہرے علمائے رسمی اور فرائے اسمی کا حال تو یہ ہے کہ جس کی حاجی
ستہوڑ خیریں لکھنے تو ہجوئے بدتر - دوسرے لوگوں کا کیا حال - پھر ایسے کام میں چھوڑتے -
مفت مخروں پر ناحوش ہوتے ہیں،“¹

Despite the declared intention of the *Akhbār* not to publish any pungent or satirical matter, it had to spice a column or two with wit and humour because most of its readers insisted that it should have a lighter side.

”عجب ہنسی کی بات ہے جو بعض صحف کہتے ہیں کہ اعظم الاحبار میں ہرل مسخری ٹھہرے
کی باتیں ہیں - اس واسطے بھکا ہے کہ الہرل و الکلام کالمح و الطعام - اس کا جواب یہ ہے کہ :
بداند کہ مارا سر ہرل بیست و گر نہ محال سخن تنگ بیست
اہل ادب کو سراوار ہیں کہ ایسی باتوں میں رباں کھولیں .

تو برسر قدر حویشتن ناش و قار باری و طرافت بدیمان نگدار
لیکن عربوں کی خاطر عربوں کی رعایت ضروری ہے۔ اس واسطے ناچار اس احبار میں ایک فصل
ان باتوں کے لئے مقرر کی جس میں کسی شخص معین کی ہجو اور آبرو ربری کو دخل نہیں :
ناہوائی دروں کسی بھراش کاندربیں راہ حارھا نااتد²

Again, in spite of its desire to present only new and unpublished matter, it could not do otherwise than take news from other newspapers. It copied news from the following newspapers, viz , ‘*Umdat-ul-Akhbār*’³

1 How strange it is that if we write the actual facts about the so-called nominal Ulama and formal Faqirs of the city, it is worse than satire. Much less can be said about other men. Yet they do not give up their bad ways. Without reason they are displeased with the news-reporters.

2 It is a subject for laughter that some people say that there are no items of fun and frolic in the *A'zam-ul-Akhbār*. That is why it is insipid, for as the proverb says, humour in speech is like salt in food.

Our reply is that the critic does not know that we are not inclined to be humorous, otherwise the extent of our talk is not limited.

It does not become the literary men to open their mouths with such talk.

You should preserve intact your own self-respect and dignity.

Leave fun and frolic to the courtiers.

However, for the sake of friends, friendly concession is necessary.

We have perforce decided to reserve a section in this newspaper. In that section there shall be no satire or defamation against any particular person.

So far as you can, desist from scratching the inside wound of the people on the way there are lots and lots of spikes and thorns.

3. This paper was published three times a month by Md Akbar and Anwar, at the Anwar Press, Trimulkhari, Madras.

Jāmī'-ul-Akhhbār,¹ *The Madras Native Herald*, *Āstāb-e-'Ālam-Tāb*, *The Englishman*,² *The Athæneum*,³ *Jām-i-Jahān Numā*,⁴ and others. Nevertheless it did not abstain from criticising the policy of some of its contemporaries and commending that of others. Just to show the extent and variety of subjects dealt with by the *A'zam-ul-Akhhbār* the contents of one of its issues numbered 15 in volume I, dated 12th October, 1848, may be mentioned. There are in it no less than 21 subjects some of which are Literary Discourses, Extracts from the *Fort St. George's Gazette*, News of the Madras Police, Proceedings of the Supreme Court, a poem, Advertisements, Madras News, Lahore News, Karachi News, Bombay News, Multan, Bolan, Calcutta, The Thames (*The London Times*), News from Abu-Shahar (Bushire), News from France, Weekly Forecasts of the Weather, Sunrise and Sunset, and Phases of the Moon.

We may now turn to the social and cultural activities of the newspaper. In one of its issues, under the caption, "Useful Discourse," there is a question "Why is poverty on the increase among Muslims?" The answer is "absence of business capacity".

”اس رہائے میں اہل اسلام کے درمیان افلاس و تنگی رور اوروں رہے کا کیا سبب ہے؟ یہی کہ لوگ کسب معاش کی عقل سے بالکل بے بہرہ ہیں۔“

In one of the discourses the writer asks quite pertinently whether education means a sufficient knowledge of the three R's or whether the ability to write in a good style or to compose good poems could make one a gentleman.

”لکھے پڑھے میں حوکیہ حوصلہ پیدا ہو جائے تو کیا پوری تربیت ہو چکی؟ یا اچھی شاعری اور پوری اسابداری کرے لگے تو مرد معقول سمجھے؟“

That discourse ends with a strong recommendation for vocational education :

”میں بلکہ کامل تربیت سے یہ مقصد ہے کہ اسان دین و دنیا کے کام بحوی جلائے کا حوصلہ پیدا کرنے اور دنیا حورد عقی بردکا مقصد تب ہی پورا برآئنگ اب حاصل مطلب یہی کہ ہمارے بھائی مسلمانوں میں دینی علم کی تربیت کے ساتھ ساتھ روری حاصل کرے کے علوم کی تعلیم کا رواج بھی

1 See my article published in the Indian Historical Records Commission Brochure of Papers, Trivandrum Session, pp 128

2 For full details vide, Margarita Barns, "The Indian Press," p 187-190

3 Ibid, pp 166, 466

4 This was a weekly in Persian published on Fridays by Munshi Ghulām Husain at the Jām-i-Jahān-Numā Press, Calcutta.

بالصبر و ہونا چاہئے۔ خصوص اس وقت پر کہ روز بروز تنگی معیشت کا بازار بالکل گرم رہا کرتا ہے،

It is remarkable that the general theme of many a discourse is education and more education "The object of all education should be no other than efficient preparation for complete living," since the people who *knew much* but could *do little* would be useless in the economy of social life. This argument, anticipating, as it did, the modern teaching of John Dewey, was a fine hit at the character of the very learned but very indolent Ulema of those days. A learned man considered it beneath his dignity to do any manual work other than writing.

The issue of the 4th Sha'bān 1264 A H = 6th July 1848, had, as its first and foremost item, the important news of the marriage of Ra'is-e-Karnatak, Amīr-ul-Hind, Wālā Jāh, Mukhtār-ul-Mulk, 'Azīm-ud-Dawlah, Nawāb Muhammad Ghulām Ghouse Khān Bahādur, Shahāmāt Jung. He was the last Nawāb of the Carnatic with some ruling powers. As several references to Hyderabad occur in the description of the ceremonies, it may be mentioned here that the bride was Khair-un-Nisā Begum Sāheba,² sister of Lady Salār Jung I, and aunt of Nawāb Kamāl Yār Jung Bahadur of our Khān-e-Khānān family. A detailed account of the marriage festivities and celebrations covers two full pages of the "Marriage Number". They are narrated date by date from the رسم چتر (Umbrella Ceremony) that took place on the 12th Rajab, to the رسم شب گشت (Night Procession) on the 25th followed by the حلہ (Exposition of Beauties) on the 26th Rajab. Presentations of Nazars, conferments of titles, and grants of Jagirs are duly recorded. The Sadr-Amīn, Muftī Muhammad Tāj-ud-Dīn Husain Khān, of the pen-name Hujjat, composed the following chronogram.

نواب دکن کہ هست حورسید براد سد حلہ و روز برج سادی براد

گفتم چہ سس نکور جسمی حسود سد حجلہ عیتس ساه ر حیدر آباد³

Other items of news in the same issue show the progress which education was making among Muslims of the Madras of those days. One related

1 It is not so, but the object of the best education is that man should acquire the capacity to carry on quite well the religious as well as worldly business as it is said he enjoyed this world and carried with him the merit for the other world. In that case only would he reach the goal of benefitting this world and merit in the other world. The gist of our contention is that it should become a custom of our Muslim brothers to learn wage earning (economic science) along with education in religious science, and that too particularly in this time when the market of unemployment is very brisk."

2 She lived to a very old age. Nawāb Amīn Jung when he was a school boy saw her Sawārī at Melas and in Muharrams. He heard in those days that the Madras Government gave her a pension of Rs. one lakh per month.

3 The Nawāb of Deccan, who is descended from the Sun
Has come into the Zodiac of Shādī (Happiness)
The year of his marriage which made the jealous blind of eye
The secret of the King's happiness came from Hyderabad = 1264 A. H.

to the opening of a school at Mylapur by Nawāb Haidar Nawaz Jung Bahādur, (one of the ministers of the Nawab) with no less than 70 Muslim pupils to begin with. The staff consisted of teachers in Persian, English, Tamil, and Telugu. All the expenses of the establishment were borne by the Nawab himself. Another item related to the results of an examination held for three days at the Madras Medical College. Pratab Singh, one of the brilliant students of that College is commended for opening a dispensary and setting up a private practice. The Nawab's charitable disposition and generosity are applauded because he sent a number of lady students to the Medical College and promised to pay their expenses from his own privy purse. The conversion and baptism of a Brahman student of "the Anderson School" (now the Madras Christian College) evoked a sharp rebuke in the leading article of the issue from the pen of the editor himself. In order to prevent the conversion of pupils who went to Christian Missionary schools to learn the English language, the editor suggests that a few generous persons should subscribe sufficient money for the establishment of a school, wherein English should be taught along with Persian, Urdu, and Tamil. The inclusion of English in the syllabus (of non-Christian schools), argues the editor, would put an end to the practice of parents sending their boys to Christian schools.

Publicity is given to a notice in the Bombay newspaper called *Majma'-ul-Akhbār* which offered a reward of Rs 250 to any one who could establish and publish a journal in Gujarati or Marathi for the promotion of unity (i.e. Hindu-Muslim unity) and inculcation of respect for law and order among the people at large. It appears to us that the amount of the reward was too small for the enterprise which it was meant to inaugurate or to encourage.

The fall of a meteor at 4-30 p.m. on 23rd January 1852 at Yettore, in the District of Nellore, created a great panic by reason of its terrific noise and smoke when the sky was quite clear and the air was serene. The paper says that the meteor was taken and deposited in the Madras Museum by a Mr Edward Balfour and was open to inspection by the public from 4 to 6 p.m. daily.

So much for the cultural activities of the Muslims of Madras as evidenced by the premier Urdu newspaper of that city. As regards the contemporary foreign news, we find in its issues notices of the appointment of Ibrāhīm Pāshā as ambassador of Turkey to England—the floods of the Nile—the death of Muhammad Shāh of Iran¹—the havoc caused by an earthquake in Constantinople,² etc. There are also tit-bits of

1 In 1834, on Fath 'Alī's death, his son 'Alī Shāh succeeded and reigned for 20 days and was succeeded in his turn by Fath 'Alī's grandson Muhammad Shāh Kajar, died in 1848 *vide History of the Muslim World* by K. B. Ahsanullah, pp. 282-283.

2 *Fawā'id-un-Nāẓirīn* gives a detailed account of the havoc caused by the earthquake in Constantinople. Among other things it mentions a death-roll of 182, including Greeks and Turks, the number of the injured rescued from the debris is also given.

news from Shiraz, Qandhar, Bushire, Bukhara, Iran, Egypt, Mecca, China, Ireland, Spain, London, etc Under the heading "Indian News," letters appeared regularly from correspondents from the following cities.—Arcot, Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore, Poona, Delhi, Lucknow, Bhawalpur, Lahore, Peshawar, Multan, Akbarabad, Rangoon, etc The affairs of Afghanistan, the 2nd Sikh War, and the 2nd Burmese War are discussed with sense and discretion.

The Hyderabad State was a great favourite, next only to the Home State of the Carnatic So a good deal of Hyderabad news found room in "the Great Newspaper" General Fraser was Resident at the Court of the Nizām for a long time from 1838 to 1853 In his absence from the State, due to his daughter's illness, Col John Low officiated as Resident for a period of six months Debts due to the Hyderabad Contingent, Sirāj-ul-Mulk's endeavours to liquidate them and his resignation of the office of minister, Col Deighton's activities, etc, are mentioned and fully discussed¹

We have space to refer to but one other newspaper of the Madras of pre-Mutiny days It was the antipodes of the *A'zam-ul-Akhhbār* It is called *Taisir-ul-Akhhbār* The name can be translated as an "Easy-going Newspaper." What light does it throw on Muslim culture in the Madras of those days? The post-Mutiny days changed the current of that culture in a rather unfavourable direction Poverty increased along with mere outward show among Muslims, more especially among members of the so-called "ruling families," aristocratic Khāndāni Muslims

This Akhhbār was a one-sheet newspaper (15" × 13") published every Saturday. Its title-page varied in several issues For instance in Vol I No 14, dated 10th July, 1849, the name appears in a beautiful طعرا or

1 For full details read the, *Memoirs and Correspondence of General James Stuart-Fraser*, Chapters VIII, IX and X

In this connection it is interesting to note what General Fraser has to say as regards the reports published by the Madras Newspapers which relate to the contingent debts Referring to one of the reports, Fraser writes as follows —

"There is already a report in the City of Hyderabad that the supreme Government has it in contemplation to demand a portion of the Nizam's territory in liquidation of his debt to us, and for the current expenses of the Contingent The report is said to have been arisen from an article in one of the Madras newspapers, which must have been published at Madras some days previously to the receipt of your Lordship's letter The newspapers and your letter reached me simultaneously There could have been no connection, therefore, between them, and either the Madras article was a mere conjecture of what might happen, or it must have been furnished by certain parties at Hyderabad, who not unfrequently receive information of what is about to be said, or done by the Supreme Government, and before I do so myself vide Fraser, *Ibid*, p 307 (Extract from Fraser's letter to Dalhousie, dated 19th December, 1849)

In fairness to this newspaper, I may add, that many reports appearing in it which relate to the State of Hyderabad are fairly correct

monogram Just above it is the line "Enjoy the news if you have the ability to pay" and below it we read "رب يسر وتم الحیر" My Lord, make it easy to begin and happy to end. On either side of the title we find verses in praise of the paper. Just below the title there is a notice to correspondents which advises them to value freedom of speech and make use of it with care and caution —

سواغ نگاروں کی حق بیانی اور راست علمی کو کسی طرح کا اندیشہ سگ راہ نہ ہوئے کے واسطے
حکام وقت کے یہاں سے رہہ آزادی کا ملا ہے تا اس دولت غیر مترقبہ کی قدر دانی کر کے بندہ حوثامدگو
اور عبدالدرہم والدیا نہ رہیں :

محر آزاد ہیں سخن کے بیج سوس و سروسے جیس کے بیج¹

That is a sample of the Urdu language of the day

The subscription to this one-sheet newspaper—each page having four columns—was five annas per month. As regards its policy, the editor declares it to be based on the maxim "Honesty is the best policy" Vol IV, No 26, dated 14th Rajab, 1268=24th April 1852, bears verses above the date-line of which the last two couplets are —

لے شش و پنج ہووے گرتیسیر پانچ آنوں کی کچھ ساط ہیں
لیجئے ہم سے کاعد احار سیکڑوں اسساط سے ہوں دوچار²

This paper was printed in the Matba'-e-Taisir-ul-Akhbār, Mohalla, Trimulkheri, Wālā Jāhī Road House, No 3, by its founder and publisher, Hakīm 'Abdul-Bāsīt (of the pen-name) 'Ishq. It quoted from, or referred to the following newspapers that were its contemporaries. *Fawā'id-un-Nāzrīn*,³ *The Bombay Vartaman*,⁴ *Gulshan-i-Naobahār*, *Shams-ul-Akhbār*⁵

1 "The authorities of the time have given such freedom to the correspondents that there should be no danger of any stumbling-block in the way of truthful statements and righteous writings. So that in appreciation of this unexpected good fortune no man should become a flatterer or be a slave to money and worldly goods

News-writers have the freedom of speech in the same way as lily and cypress in the flower-garden"

2 Nobody need be at sixes and sevens if he has the ability to pay 5 annas, the amount of which is trifling thing

Pay and take from us a sheet of newspaper, and derive from it much pleasure

3 For a detailed description see my article published in the *Indian Historical Records*, Trivandrum Session, p 128

4 O C Margarits Barns, p 90

5 *Ibid*, p 127

The Friend of India,¹ *Jām-e-Jamshēd*,² *Rāst Guftār*,³ *Sultān-ul-Akhhbār*,⁴ *Mazhar-ul-Akhhbār*⁵

The first column of the *Taisir* was reserved for announcements of the *Fort St. George Gazette* and the local news of the Madras City. Besides foreign news from Iran, China, Russia, Muscat, Arabia, London, Sydney, etc., news from the Indian States was always the prominent features of the paper.

The description of the celebrations of the 'Īd-ul-Adhā, "the Feast of Sacrifice," in Madras on the 10th Zilhij 1268 = 12th October 1852 cover a full page, that is, one half of a number. After attending the 'Īd prayer the Nawab of the Carnatic⁶ held a Darbar at the "Humayun Manzils" where he conferred the titles of Shajī'-ul-Mulk, Rustom-ud-Dawla and Jān Bāz Jung on his chief minister Nadīm-ud-Dawla and other titles on other ministers and officials of his Darbar. That shows, as has already been hinted above Nawab Ghulām Ghouse Khān (of the pen-name) A'zam was the last Nawāb of Arcot who exercised kingly powers. The expected arrival of the sons of Tipū Sultān at Madras on their way to Mysore to offer their prayers at their father's tomb is announced. An attack on the Shāh of Iran by bandits at Mazandran and his escape with slight injuries is also mentioned. The presentation of a unique clock to the Mughal emperor is duly noted.

The paper published a long petition signed by forty-eight members of the Nawab's family claiming pensions and subsidies. It indicates the beginning of dissensions that called for interference by the British authority, resulting in the deprivation of succeeding Nawabs of their ruling powers. The poverty of Muslims even in those days is evidenced by the news of the formation of a Society for the Relief and Aid of the Poor Muslims. Its rules, regulations and programme cover a column and half of a certain issue. Letters addressed to the editor seeking explanation of certain chapters of the Qur'ān "for the benefit of the Muslim public" appear with answers by the editor or correspondents. There is in the paper a "Poet's Corner" which shows that Urdu poetry was sedulously cultivated. That sea voyages were recommended and encouraged is proved by regular announcements of the arrival and departure of ships such as "The Fair Queen," "Barmuda," etc.

1 O. S. Margarita Barns, p. 127.

2 This was the Gujarati paper first published in Bombay in 1831 and is still in existence. The founder was Pestonji Maneckji, and this weekly journal was and still is considered the organ of orthodox Parsees. It later became a daily newspaper.

3 *Rāst Guftār* was first published by Dadabhai Naroji who afterwards became the first Indian member of the Parliament.

4 This newspaper was published twice a week by Muhammad Tāhīr and Sayyid 'Alī in Calcutta.

5 Thrice a month, published in Urdu, by Muhammad Khāja Bādshāh 'Ibrat, Madras. It was of 12 pages with a subscription of Re. 1 a month.

6 The successors of Nawāb Ghulām Ghouse Khān A'zam, who died childless, were and are designated as Princes of Arcot.

There must have been numerous defaulters among the subscribers, otherwise the publishers would not have made an appeal in the following terms

التاس دل حریں و ملول ہووے مقبول بیتن اہل قبول

ہمارے کاعد کے مستریوں کی حباب میں التاس یہی ہے کہ بعضے صاحبان تو ماہ ماہ بلا ناعہ قیمت تیسیر الاحار کی پہونچا کر مسموں سب فرماتے ہیں اور بعضوں پر مہینوں بلکہ برسوں کے پیسے چڑھتے ہیں - پھر ہم اہتمام سے اس کے کیونکر بار اترسکیں گے - پس توحہ قدیمانہ سے امید ہے جو صاحبان کہ اس ناب میں نکھل و اعراض فرماتے ہیں سو بائچ آہوں کی کچھ بساط نہ سمجھ کے ماہواری دیے میں سستی نہ کرنا اور عقرب تمام و کمال باقی عایب فرما دینا تا سربراہی اس کاعد کی بوجہ احساس ہوا کرنے اور احار باد رہے صیاف حاصل و عام کی ہوتی رہے -¹

اہل تیسیر کی توحہ حاصل ہو میسر عمیں تو دور ہیں

The peculiarities of the Urdu language of those days may be noted in the above as well as in the other short quotations in this article. The paucity of subscribers, and the non-payment and irregular payment by not a few of the actual subscribers, cut short the career of *Taisir-ul-Akhhbar*, which began in 1848 and ended in 1853. It was intended for poor Muslims, but their poverty grew too great to keep it going

K. SAJUN LAL.

¹ The request of the grieved and sorry mind is that it should be appreciated by those who are competent to appreciate our request

Although some purchasers of our paper oblige us by paying month by month, yet there are some others who leave the money unpaid for months, even for years. If it is so how can we carry on with the management of this paper? We ask the people who are so remiss in payment of their subscription kindly to note that they should not consider 5 annas a month as a great amount and be careless in paying it. And in the near future they will please pay the arrears in full so that the supply of the paper may be carried on with success, and we may please all and sundry with novel news

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

Iranian Cultural Mission

THE distinguished members of the Iranian Cultural Mission visited the Osmania University on 23rd March, 1944. Addressing the students of the Osmania University, His Excellency Ali Asghar Hikmat, the leader of the Cultural Mission declared in Persian that Hyderabad was the greatest centre of Iranian culture outside Iran. He then explained that the object of the mission was to extend literary and cultural relations between the two ancient civilizations—Iran and India—in which particularly Hyderabad was holding conspicuous place as a centre of both the cultures. These two civilizations had in the beginning a common origin and as the two cultures have been separated, they should be brought together and the ties of relation should be further strengthened by mutual exchange of the students and professors between Tehran and Hyderabad whose exchange of views and combined results of researches might make a real contribution to the progress of civilization. The learned speaker further informed that Farhangistan Academy of Iran took keen interest in the Translation Bureau of the Osmania University and especially in that branch of the Bureau which coins terms of art and science in the Urdu language and he sincerely hoped that in the coinage of the terms an effective co-operation should be established between the Tehran Academy and Hyderabad Translation Bureau.

Another member of the mission, Prof. Rashid Yāsīmī delivered a very interesting lecture on modern Persian literature in the sweet language of Shiraz—the Persian—and cleared a number of doubts about modern tendencies of Iran which for considerable years were lurking in the minds of the Indian scholars. Speaking about the modernisation of the Iranian language and literature the professor said that modern Iran never intended nor was it likely that she would ever think of purging the Persian language of all Arabic words. To hold such a view is simply childish since Iranian scholar cannot avoid using Arabic terms wherever he is required to express his views either in science, art or literature. What the Iranian scholars really desired was that unnecessary use of Arabic words in order to display one's extent of knowledge and erudition should not be allowed.

Thus the language should be made simple and intelligible not only to the scholars but also to the man in the street so that all the citizens of a democratic country should equally avail themselves of the benefits of learning.

Osmania University Researches

A note about the Oriental Research in the Osmania University has been published in the *Islamic Culture*, January, 1943. Besides the researches conducted for the degree of Ph.D., M.A., M.Sc., LL.M. students are also required to submit theses on original subjects. The following papers of LL.M. deal with Islamic subjects and have been approved by the Osmania University.

1. The Slave Institution in Various Legal Systems with special reference to Islam by Mr. Abdus-Sattar
2. Divorce in Dharm Shaster and its Comparison with the Islamic and English Law by Mr. Trimbac Rao
3. Theft in Different Systems of Law with special reference to Islam by Mr. Gauhar Ali
4. The Islamic Law of Joint Companies and its Comparative Study with the existing Code of Hyderabad Deccan, by Mr. Wahid-ullah Khan
5. Effect of the Present War on International Law with particular reference to Islamic countries by Mr. R. Siddiq Husain
6. Prohibited Degrees of Near Relations for Matrimonial Purposes. A comparative study with special reference to Islam by Mr. Shamsul-Haq

The Celebration of Iqbal Day

Bazm-e-Iqbal has as usual celebrated Iqbal day this year with greater interest and enthusiasm. Besides arranging lectures on various aspects of Iqbal's poetry, a notable feature of this celebration was that an exhibition of Iqbal's work and his poetic art was also organized. Some thought-provoking lines from Iqbal's poems were selected and depicted in artistic pictures. In preparing these pictures, the co-operation of Art School of Hyderabad was secured. The Art School deserves encouragement for this maiden attempt and we hope that the school will produce more perfect models of Iqbal's unperishable ideals.

M. A. M.

DECCAN

The Cultural Heritage of India

SWAMI Nikhilananda observes in a short article in the *Vedanta Kesari*, March 1944 .

"The Muslims entered India with their levelling doctrine of Islam. Carrying the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other, they intended to convert India into a country of Islam. Within a few hundred years we find the Mughal emperors of Delhi marrying the princesses of Rajputana and showing respects to the indigenous culture of India. Akbar imbibed the philosophy and religion of the Hindus to such an extent that he formulated a new eclectic religion, the Dīn Elahī, which was his version of a universal religion. One of the important and lasting results of the contact between Hinduism and Islam is the formulation of Sufism,¹ whose tenets show impress of Vedantism on the teachings of the Koran. Babar, the first Mughal Emperor of India, may have longed for the melons of Samarkand, but his descendants and followers accepted India as their motherland. Today over ninety per cent of the Muslims in India trace their descent from Hindu ancestors. Within a short time after their first contact the Hindus and Muslims were exchanging their cultures in respect of art, medicine and music, and the modern culture of northern India, to a very large extent, has been enriched by the contribution of the Muslims. As Hindu society assimilated some of the ideas of democratic Islam, the austere religion of Mohammed too could not escape the humanising influence of Hinduism."

Art Find

The Times of India, Bombay (May 6, 1944) remarks in the columns of *Current Topic* —

"In the Journal of the Bihar Research Society, the story is revealed of the discovery of a rare example of calligraphy by Prince Khyrra (correct name is 'Khurram') who later became Emperor Shāh Jahān. A painting was removed with other treasures from the Patna Museum and taken to a remote place in the province for safe storage. The curator, anxious to examine the work of Art for any change due to climatic conditions, discovered the Persian calligraphy by Prince Khyrra, on the reverse of this famous Indo-Persian painting of the sixteenth century depicting an ascetic leading along with one hand and holding a flag in the other, and being followed by a boy. The newly discovered panel is signed by the Prince and is dated '1617'—."

The issue of the Bihar Research Society *Journal* (December 1943), which contains the above article in the note of the *Times of India*, under

¹ Cf *Sufism and Islam*, Islamic Culture No 4, 1927,—Ed, I C

the heading is before us. A *Waslī of Prince Khurram*, with two reproductions, *ie*, one of the same *Waslī* of calligraphy attributed to Shāh Khurram (later Shāh Jahān) and the other of the Indo-Persian painting of the 17th century. The Persian quatrain calligraphed therein bears the calligraphist's name شاه خرم سنة ۱۰۲۵ and the author of the article has rendered it thus. —

“Exercise by a confidential friend

or

Special Exercise by

Shāh Khurram

1025 (A H) ”

After discussing the problem at length he says at its end

“For all the reasons given above I believe I am justified in concluding that the writing in this *Waslī* is undoubtedly that of Shāh Khurram, later the Emperor Shāh Jahān, and also that he may well have been the author of the verses ”

The only objection in accepting forthwith the above conclusion is that a calligraphist or a writer customarily does not sign his own name *in this way*, unless it has some special motive behind. Though in the present instance specimens having signatures as *Shāh Khurram* are not available, yet fortunately the *Shāh Nāma* of Firdousi published by the Indian Society, London 1931, is before us, in which there is a description of an illustrated MS of the *Shāh Nāma* by Wilkinson and Laurence Binyon. Its frontispiece contains one reproduction of the fly-leaf of the same MS having an autograph of Shāh Jahān, which he had recorded on the day of his enthronement (1037 A H), *ie*, about twelve years after the year (1025 A H) recorded in the referred to *Waslī*. It evidently bears his signature thus —

..... حرره سہاب الدین محمد سہاب جہان

بادشاہ اس جہانگیر بادشاہ بن اکبر بادشاہ عاری

‘Written by Shihābu’-d-Dīn Muhammad Shāh Jahān Bādshāh ibn Jahāngīr Bādshāh ibn Akbar Bādshāh Ghāzī

The same is also found in other such autographs of Shāh Jahān. It leads us to believe that he was accustomed to sign his name in this way.

A similarity between the style of writing of the autograph of Shāh Jahān on the fly-leaf of the *Shāh Nāma* and that of the *Waslī* can be traced after a careful study. In this respect it is prudent for us to wait for some other resembling specimen of calligraphy or writing by Shāh Khurram or Shāh Jahān having similar signature, as it is just possible that some one else might have copied it out following the style of the prince and had put these words on it.

A Persian Forerunner of Dante

Dr. Nicholson gives a translation of some of the odes of Sanā'ī, (died circa 1150 A.D.) from one of his short descriptive poems, bearing the title *Sayru'l-'Ibād-ilā'l-Ma'ād*, in the latest issue of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 19. He describes it as 'the Journey of God's Creatures (mankind) to the Afterworld'. He says, "In this masterpiece of grotesque imagination Sanā'ī depicts the return of the fallen soul to its Divine origin and ultimate home. Like Dante, he tells us how in the dark wilderness he met a guide who escorted him through all the limbo of mortal anguish and terror that must be traversed ere the goal is reached. By way of prelude he traces figuratively the first movements of the ascending soul—its evolution from the vegetative and animal natures into the rational faculty which constitutes its true being. Only then can the 'traveller,' i.e., the reasonable soul, enter on the mystic path of self-purification under the auspices of a *Shaykh* inspired by the Universal Reason. It is impossible to read the *Sayru'l-'Ibād* without being reminded of the *Divina Comedia*, especially the *Inferno*."

The Administration Buildings of Akbar's Fathpur Sikri

The details of the buildings of Fathpur Sikri have already been given by so many writers, historians and travellers. The Archæological reports and official guides published by the Archæological department are full of their minute details. But we find that Dr. S. K. Banerji of the Lucknow University, describes also the same items of buildings under a new heading which adds little to our knowledge.

Kisse-Sanjan

Mr. B. N. Bhatena, Bombay, has published a brochure on this heading in which he has discussed at length the problem discussed in a book in Persian verses written by Bahmanī Kaikobad, a Persian priest of Navasari in 1599 and has come to the conclusion that it is palpably false. It pretends to give the so-called history of Parsis from the downfall of the Sassanian Empire till the conquest of the supposed Hindu Kingdom of Sanjan by Muslims.

Calligraphy

We find that Muslim calligraphy is creating interest among the scholars. Recently K. B. Muhammad *Shafi'* has published one specimen of calligraphy by *Arghunū'l-Kāmilī* in the *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore.

(Nov 1943), which has revealed to us that this great calligraphist, who was one of the six chief pupils of Yāqūt Musta'simī (d 698 A H.), was actually called 'Kāmlī' and not Kāblī. It gives us satisfaction that our India collections are rich of such rare specimens of fine art of Islam. It will also be interesting to cite here that the Kutub Khana Āsafiya (State Library), Hyderabad-Deccan holds a large collection of Arabic and Persian rare and unique manuscripts which are not so well-known to scholars yet. In the Arabic history section we find one MS of a large size of the *Wafiyāt-l-A'yān* by Ibn-Khallikān (d 681 A H., Arabic History Section No 994, List of Books, Vol II, pp 90-91), which is calligraphed in Naskhī characters with an illuminated page in the beginning. Its colophon runs thus —

تم الكتاب المسمى تاريخ ابن خلكان بحمد الله تعالى وسه وكرمه وكان الفراغ من هذا الكتاب
طهر يوم الثلاثاء من الشهر المحرم الحرام سنة سبعائه وست وحسين من هجرة الرسول
المحجى محمد المصطفى صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم، كتبه اصعب عباد الله عبد الله الصيرفي
الحسيني عمر الله دونه ودون والديه .

'The transcription of the history known as Ibn-Khallikān finished by the grace of God on Tuesday, in the month of Muharram, year 756 A H. The most humble 'Abdulla as-Sayrafi al-Husainī calligraphed it. May Allah forgive his sins as well as of his parents'

It is well-known that 'Abdulla Sayrafi is also one of the six chief pupils of Yāqūt Musta'simī and a colleague of Arghunu'l-Kāmlī. Apart from it this 'Abdulla Sayrafi was the author of a treatise on the art of calligraphy, and had collected the instructions of his master, Yāqūt Musta'simī (*Kashf-uz-Zanūn*, Vol. 549-50). Fortunately, its two manuscripts are found in the Jāmi' Masjid Library, Bombay.

Sind Provincial Urdu Conference, Karachi

It was presided over by Mr 'Abdur-Rahmān Siddiqī, who, being a native of the place, traced the background of Urdu and the importance of the province in this respect. Mr Pīr Elahī Bakhsh welcomed the members of the conference as the president of the reception committee and he also in the capacity of Educational Minister of Sind gave some account of the position of Urdu education in the province.

The Jain Prime Minister of Hoshang Ghorī of Malwa

In continuation of his previous article under the heading 'Mandana the Prime Minister of Malwa and his Works, Mr. P.K. Gode, the curator of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, contributes another paper, *The*

Genealogy of Mandana, the Jain Prime Minister of Hoshang Ghōri of Malwa between A D 1405 and 1432, to the *Jain Antiquary's* latest issue. Mandana's father Bahada was a Samghapati connected with Kharataranvya and that he himself was a Samghapati like his father and a devout follower of Jain religion as he calls himself the illustrious preceptor of the Jain religion. Dhanadaraja composed his *Satakatraya* at Mandapadurga or Mandu fort in *Samvat 1490/1434 A D* during the reign of Hoshang Ghōri of Malwa. Both these cousins Dhanadaraja and Mandana were men of literary tastes and ability, and if one of them composed a work in 1434 A D, the chronology of the other cousins' works may be safely assigned to the period 1405-32 A D. Mr Gode concludes with these remarks: "The students of the history of Malwa should investigate and determine the exact period of Mandana's prime ministership and the influence exercised by his Jain prime minister on the policy of Hoshang Ghōri. This association of a Jain minister with a Muslim ruler of Malwa in the 15th century is as interesting as it is instructive. Mandana refers to his Muslim patron in glowing terms in his works."

Sabaji Prataparaja, a protégé of Burhān Nizām Shāh

"The Nizām Shāhī kings of Ahmadnagar appear to have been patrons of Hindu writers," as observed by Mr Gode in his recent paper in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona*, Vol XXIX, Pt III-IV, under the heading *Sabaji Prataparaja, a Protégé of Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar, and his Works between 1500-1560 A D*. He has based his whole information on *Dharamsastra* of Nrsimhaprasada, who was not only a high army officer in the employ of Ahmad Nizām Shāh but was also his Keeper of Records. Mr Gode also tries to identify Sabaji Pratap Rai from the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthur*. In some cases we find that Mr Gode's conclusions require further clarification to which we shall attend later on.

M. A. C.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

THE visit of the Iranian Cultural Mission to some of the important cities of the United Provinces invoked a great interest and enthusiasm amongst the Muslim as well as the Hindu elites of the Province. At Allahabad the mission, which consisted of His Excellency Aqa Ali Asghar Hikmat (Leader of the Mission), Mr Poure Daoud and Mr. Rashid Yasini, was welcomed and entertained to dinner at his residence by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. In welcoming the mission Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru spoke of the long cultural relations between India and Iran. He

pointed out that it was wrong to suppose that such cultural relations came into existence only during the Muslim rule. On the other hand, recent researches have shown that the cultural contacts of Iran with India were much older than those even with China. It was not generally realised, continued Sir Tej, that even in Bengal, Madras and Orissa, not to speak of the Punjab and U P, the Persian influence had been vast and deep, and Persian words were used without being obviously realised that they were Persian. For instance many Bengali surnames were originally derived from Persian, e g, Mallick, Mazumdar, which is corruption of Majmu'dar and Mahal-nibis for Mahal Navis, just as in Marathi Fadnavis is a corruption of Fard Navis. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru added further — "The great Ram Mohan Roy, one of the greatest Indians of the last hundred years, was an erudite scholar of Persian and wrote in Persian a profound book of philosophy on Unity of God. His picture, showing him dressed in the robe of a Mughal nobleman and receiving his credentials from the Mughal emperor before he started on his mission to England, is one of the unique pictures I have seen in the palace of His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal. It is a historical fact that some parts of North Punjab were at one time claimed to be the parts of the empire of Darius and it is a mistake to suppose that the Persian influence in India spread with the establishment of the Muslim rule. Cultural contact between Persia and India went much further back in Indian history than the Muslim rule." Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru hoped that the arrival of the Iranian Cultural Mission was a sign and symbol of the times and might lead to the re-establishment of closer and more intimate relations between India and Iran.

He concluded his speech by quoting verses of the renowned Persian poet Hāfiz. He also showed his familiarity with the delightful poetry of Pouré Dāoud and Rashid Yāsīmī, who signed their works which were already in his (Sir Tej's) possession. Replying in Persian His Excellency Aqa Ali Asghar Hikmat said that there were cultural relations between Persia and India even in pre-Muslim period and they had continued down the centuries to the present days. He observed that early in the fifth century A D a mission was sent to India by an Iranian King Khosroes Anushirwan, and it took back to Iran veritable store of knowledge and culture. His Excellency expressed the hope that just as Allahabad was the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamuna, so would it become a meeting point of Indian and Iranian culture and would play its part in promoting friendship, harmony and the closest possible cultural relationship between the two countries.

The Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University also welcomed the members of the mission at a meeting of the staff of the University held in the Senate Hall.

The Oriental Society of the Allahabad University also extended its warm reception to the mission by holding a meeting under the Chair-

manship of the Vice-Chancellor, who, in his presidential address, looked forward to an exchange of scholars between India and Iran for special branches of study. He also invited from Iran an eminent educationist who could teach modern Persian at the Allahabad University. In reply H. E. Aqa A. A. Hikmat expressed, "Since India and Iran had the closest possible cultural relations even in the pre-historic days when difficulties of communication and travel presented almost insuperable barriers, it would indeed be surprising, if in these days of easy travel and speedy communication, these two great sister relations kept apart from each other and did not avail of the vast store of knowledge and culture which is their common heritage." "The two nations," observed His Excellency further, "had sprung from common stock and had common cultural ideas. It was through Persia that the Aryans of old days brought their religion and even the names of their gods of India. A tablet found in Turkey describes the names of gods who were worshipped both by ancient Iranians and Indians. With the passage of time this cultural relationship became even closer and was continued down the centuries through the periods of the Ashkanians, the Sassanians and afterwards the Muslim rulers of Iran. During the time of the Mughals, exchange of gifts between the Indian and the Iranian sovereigns and, what is even more important, the free and frequent exchange of the best cultural and artistic products of the two countries further cemented the indissoluble bonds of friendship. Indeed this exchange took place as far back as the periods of Nausherwan the Just." Referring to the address presented to the mission and the number of poems all written in Persian in their honour, the leader of the mission said "This was the most convincing proof of the fact that even today the two countries—India and Iran—were close culturally as ever before, and that the great national poets of Iran—Rūmī, Hāfiz and Sa'dī—were as much the idols of India as of Iran. It is therefore incumbent upon us of the present generation to preserve by all means our glorious heritage of the past and to strengthen the links that have bound the two countries in such ties of friendship and harmony all through the centuries."

The Mission visited Benares and Aligarh, where the members of the mission greatly enjoyed their visit and expressed their deep impressions and historical relations of the two countries.

The Muslim University Gazette has, in one of its issues, given prominence to some of the rare manuscripts and unique miniature paintings which are preserved in the Rampur State Library. They may be mentioned here, with a supplement of further informations, for the general interest of our readers. (1) A copy of the Holy Qur'ān on parchments, transcribed by the fourth Caliph Hadrat 'Alī in 40 A.H. It is written in Kūfī script, in which dots have been used instead of diacritical marks, (2) A copy of the Holy Qur'ān, transcribed by Imām Ja'far Sādiq (died 148 A.H.), written in small Kūfī script in black. The whole copy is void of dots and diacritical marks, (3) A copy of an Arabic commentary of the Holy Qur'ān entitled

تفسير الثوري by Imām Sufyān-ath-Thawrī (born at Kūfa in 97 A H, and died at Basra in 161 A H) Imām Sufyān is popularly known as a great traditionist and a Faqīh, but he wrote also a commentary on the Holy Qur'ān, which has been referred to by Hājī Khalifa in *Kashf-az-Zunūn* on the authority of Tha'labī This work was believed to have been lost, but a copy of it has been traced in the Rampur State Library Its pages from the beginning and the end are missing, and consists at present only of eighteen pages, each of which has about thirty-one lines The size of the manuscript is $7 \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ and $7 \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ The commentary begins from the verse لا اكره في الدين طور and finishes at the first verse of Sūrah طور The manuscript is believed to have been transcribed in the 6th century A H, (4) A copy of the collection of Emperor Babur's Turkish verses, bearing the autographs of Khān-Khānān Bairam Khān The copy was written in 1558 A D for the Emperor It also consists of a Rubā'ī transcribed by the Emperor himself The last page bears Shāh-Jahān's note, which says that the Rubā'ī was followed by Babur's signature, which is however not found there now, (5) A treatise on ethics transcribed by Mīr 'Alī, who was an illustrious scribe of Nast'aliq of the Mughal period The treatise bears autographs of Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and a note from the latter's daughter Jāhānārā Begum, (6) An ornamented copy of *Dīwān-i-Hāfiz*, prepared at Emperor Akbar's instance It contains several miniatures drawn by Akbar's court-painters, one of which depicts Akbar seated on the throne with three scholars in his presence, holding books in their hands Two of these scholars resemble Abul-Fadl and Faidī, (7) A manuscript of the *Mathnavī* of Maulānā Jalālud-dīn Rūmī, edited by Mullā 'Abdul-Latif 'Abbāsī with the help of nearly eighty different copies of the *Mathnavī*, Mullā 'Abdul-Latif 'Abbāsī flourished in 'Ālamgīr's reign and died in 1036 A H, (8) A Persian Dīwān of the well-known poet Hazīn of Isfahān, transcribed by one of his pupils The Dīwān consists of a preface written by the poet himself, and the margins of the Dīwān had, in the poets own handwritings, the verses composed after the compilation of the Dīwān

Amongst the various miniatures preserved in the Rampur State Library references to the following may be made here — (1) A miniature of Jahāngīr seated on his throne with a galaxy of courtiers in front of him Jahāngīr has also been shown holding a goblet which Shāhryār is presenting to him The names of the courtiers are recorded in a very minute script It is the work of Gobardhan, the master-painter of the age (2) In another miniature Jahāngīr is seen witnessing on horseback a struggle between a snake and a spider. (3) Another miniature depicts the siege conducted by Emperor 'Ālamgīr who is seen surrounded by a number of chiefs, amongst whom there is also Raja Karan Singh of Bikaner (4 & 5). Another two paintings are the products of Muhammad Shāh's reign, one of which depicts a royal procession of Muhammad Shāh, and another of his Darbar, with the names of his courtiers noted below.

The Rampur State library has also a publication section which has undertaken the responsibility of writing and publishing rare manuscripts. Its previous publications are *Makātīb-i-Ghālib* and *Kitāb-al-Aynās*, and has recently brought out a useful and learned book in Persian entitled *Dastūr-al-Fasāhat*. Its author is Sayyid Ahad 'Alī Yaktā of Lucknow, who flourished in the days of Ghāziuddīn Hydar and Nasīruddīn Hydar, the rulers of Oudh. This book is divided into three parts, the first part deals with the origin and genesis of Urdu, the second treats at length with grammar, philology, prosody, rhetoric, metres, etc., of the Urdu language and the last describes 135 poets, whose verses have been quoted in the book as authorities to support some arguments. Sayyid Imtiāz 'Alī 'Arshī, the cataloguer of the library, has very ably and efficiently edited the first and the third part of the book, writing in the beginning a preface of 117 pages which throw abundant light on the author's life, the subject-matter of the book and the various Tadhkiras of the Urdu poets. This preface along with the marginal annotations by the learned editor has made this book a treasure-house of knowledge, which is an asset to Urdu literature.

Another recent publication which deserves special notice here is the autobiography entitled *A'māl Nāmah* by Sīr Raza 'Alī, Kt, of Moradabad, formerly Agent to the Governor-General of India in South Africa. This M P Knight, who was formerly noted for indulging in chivalry of law and politics, has, in his old age, assumed the role of the lover of belles-lettres by writing the story of his life in a voluminous work of 517 pages. This autobiography covers at length not only the details of the writer's chequered career, but also abounds in lively description of the founders and makers of the M A O College, Aligarh, highly interesting accounts of the life and activities of the college in the author's days and a very critical and sympathetic study of the currents and cross-currents of politics, society, religion and literature of the Indian Muslims of the twentieth century. The book has been written in a racy, though apparently unpretentious impressive style, which is a tribute to the author's elegant literary taste, and it will ever serve as a great intellectual repast even to a discriminating reader.

The monthly journal of the Shibli Academy, the *Ma'ārif* has, during the period under report, published a thoughtful article in two instalments on Iqbal's poetry, in which Dr. Sayyid 'Abdullāh of the Oriental College, Lahore, portrays the difficulties which an average reader of Iqbal's poetry has generally to face. He wants organised efforts from a small band of efficient scholars to make the following elucidations of Iqbal's poetry in order to facilitate the thorough grasp and quick understanding — (1) Iqbal's difficult words, (2) Iqbal's principles of thought, (3) Iqbal's sources of thought, (4) Profound themes of Iqbal's poetry, (5) Iqbal's reference to different personalities in his poetry, (6) Iqbal's classical references and literary terminology, (7) Iqbal's metaphors, similes, and pseudonyms, (8) Iqbal's literary perspective, etc. Another article, in two instalments,

by Mr Ghulam Mustafa Khan of King Edward College, Amraoti (Berar), discusses with the kinds of ensigns and banners used in the battlefields in the early and subsequent days of Islam as well as in the period of the Ghaznavid rulers. The writer, in his learned dissertation, has tried to show that the Holy Prophet used black رابٹ and white نواہ which had کلمہ طیبہ inscribed on them. The Omayyads had white standards, the Abbasids adopted black flags bearing the کلمہ طیبہ in white letters, the colours of the Alavids were green, the banners of the Zangī were made of silken cloths, which had on them verses from the Holy Qur'ān written in red and green letters, the standards of the Fatimides bore a crescent and a tiger woven out of red and yellow silk, the Almohades of Spain also used crescent, while the Turks had also a crescent and a star. The writer of the article has made a special study of the flags used by the Ghaznavids. According to his researches, Sultān Mahmūd liked to have black ensigns after the pattern of the 'Abbasids, while the banners of his successors had tigers drawn on them. Other notable contributions in the journal under review are (1) Qannauj by Dr Sayyid Sulaiman Nadwi. This is an Urdu version of the article published in the *Islamic Culture* of October 1943, (2) *Islamic Ma'āshiyāt*, by Māulanā Manāzīr Hasan, Head of the Department of Theology, Osmania University. The learned writer has been compiling a book in which he has laid down the economic principles and theories based purely on Islamic laws. Some of the chapters of this book are being published in the *Ma'arif*. We hope the book will provide valuable guidance to those who are interested in the fundamentals of Islamic economics, (3) In a brief article Dr Hamīdullāh of the Osmania University acquaints his readers with the various associations of Hyderabad-Deccan which have, unlike the Co-operative Societies of British India, been advancing loans free of any interest, (4) Dr Waliuddin of the Osmania University writes in a charming style philosophical study of man's anxieties under the caption 'Tashih-e-Fikr'.

The quarterly journal of the Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, the *Hindustani*, has published the following articles in its last issue of April 1944. (1) *Nafā'is-ul-Lughāt* compiled by Uhd'uddīn Bilgrāmī, which is being continued from previous issues, (2) *Falsafa Yā Hikmat* by Māulanā Amin 'Abbāsī, (3) Two earliest and rare works in Urdu on western Medicine by Sayyid Mubārīz-ud-dīn Raf'at. The books referred to are کتاب علم طب by Hakim Bāqar 'Alī and Hakim Sayyid 'Alī, and the Urdu translation of Dr Conquest's *Outlines of Midwifery* by Edward Balfoars. The former book, having 591 pages, was compiled in 1860 A.D. and printed at the Scottish press, Madras in 1863. The authors were educated in the institution in Hyderabad founded for the instruction of Yunani medicine by Mukhtārul-Mulk Nawāb Mīr Nawab 'Alī Khān Sūr Sālār Jung I. The latter book was rendered into Urdu in 1849 A.D. by an English surgeon attached to the Governor of Madras. The translator was a scholar in Persian also, and he dedicated his translation to Joseph Hume, a Member

of Parliament. The dedication is written in Persian, (4) The last article is by the editor who has tried to make a study of the various articles published in the prominent journals of India. It may however be said here that this journal, which has the sole privilege of enjoying the patronage of the U P Government is shorn of its former glory with which it started in its early life, for it has recently grown very dry, terse and insipid.

The Secretary of the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, Bihar, Qazi M Sayeed has taken upon himself the task of enlightening the Urdu readers with the contributions which the scholars and the poets of Bihar have made to Urdu literature. This has led the writer to dig out from obscurity some of the notable litterateurs of Bihar who were for some reasons or other, buried under a mass of oblivion. The work, after its compilation, will be named *Bihār Main Urdu*, after the pattern of the well-known Urdu books *Punjab Main Urdu* and *Dakan Main Urdu*. A few pages of this book have been published in the monthly journal *Nadeem* of Gaya. We wish the author to be successful with his insight, labour and patience, so that his collaboration may be worthy of the high standard of the book.

The Muslims of Bengal have of late begun to take greater interest in Iqbal's poetry and message. In the last week of February the residents of Calcutta celebrated the anniversary of the poet under the Chairmanship of the Hon'ble Tamizuddin Khān, Minister of Education of Bengal. The Hon'ble Minister is purley a Bengali, and the following excerpts from his presidential address will help our readers to realize the magnitude of influence which the poet of the East has on the Bengali Muslims, the inmates of the home of Rabindranath Tagore —

"Iqbal is the greatest philosopher-poet of the modern age. His poetry and other writings have a high purpose. He has nothing to do with the nonsense of 'art for art's sake'. His mission as a poet and an author is to inspire man to fulfil his mission on earth. His vision, as that of Islam, is international. He has a message for humanity as a whole. His object is to stimulate the human soul to strive to realise its relation to the Ultimate reality and as a consequence to realise the essential brotherhood of man. For achieving this supreme realisation he has also opened up before the scientific and materialistic world the vista of a new source of knowledge. He is a believer in the reality and knowledge-yielding capacity of mystic experience and has tried to show that in that way alone man can have something like a direct glimpse of the Infinite. This is nothing new to the world of Islam, but Iqbal's scientific treatment of the subject may possibly attract the hitherto apathetic and antagonistic world of material science to this new phase of human experience and thus bring about a complete transformation of its outlook or life and put it on its right place in relation to the Divine Being. This is Iqbal's message to the materialistic West.

"But his message is to the world of Islam also. He has traced and analysed the inner spiritual history of Islam as no one else has done. He

has, however, not stopped at that. He is not a mere historian and an analyst. He is also a teacher. He has opened the eyes of the Islamic world towards its real goal and has shown the path that it must follow to reach that goal . . .

"Iqbal has put his back on our proper track to unlimited progress. From this point of view one is tempted to ask, "Was he the Mujaddid of our age?" The best and the most appropriate way in which we can show reverence to him is not by paying a lip-homage to his greatness, but by being imbued with his spirit, and translating his inspiring message, which is also the message of Islam, into action for the good of our own-selves and for the good of humanity."

The anniversary was followed by the celebration of Iqbal's Day which was most enthusiastically performed in the third week of April in Calcutta, Dacca, Chittagong, Mymensingh and other places.

A special correspondent of the Calcutta Muslim daily, *Star of India*, Dr Edward J. Byng, a born archæologist, writes from New York, pointing out the debt that the West owes to the Arab or Muslim culture, and declares in his new book *The World of the Arab* that it was largely due to such Islamic influences that Europe was able to escape from a return to the Dark Ages following the subvergence of the Roman Empire.

"In his book, which is being widely read in America, Dr. Byng advances the opinion that the West must recognise the physical and spiritual indivisibility that exists in the East or its efforts at understanding the East will fail. Acknowledgement is given by Dr. Byng to the important information pertaining to Muslim culture that was given to him by H. H. the Prince of Berar, and H. H. the Princess of Berar."

S. S.

NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

Iranian Cultural Mission at Lahore

AN Iranian Cultural Mission, consisting of His Excellency 'Alī Asghar Hikmat, the Leader of the Mission, Professor Ibrāhīm Poure Daoud and Professor Rashīd Yāsīmī, visited Lahore in the course of their Indian tour during the second week of March, 1944. They spent three days at Lahore, visiting educational institutions and ancient monuments of historical interest. They were welcomed at the Senate Hall of the Panjab University by the Vice-Chancellor, Khān Bahadur Sir Abdur-Rahmān who introduced them to local educated gentlemen who had gathered to meet and listen to the members of the Mission. Addressing the meeting, H. E. 'Alī Asghar Hikmat stressed the need of mutual understanding and respect between nations, and suggested that there were no better means of securing this laudable object than the exchange of scientific thought and

cultural values. He was followed by Professor Rashid Yāsini, Professor of History in the University of Tehran, who read a paper on the poet Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān. The choice of the subject was particularly appropriate in view of the fact that the poet had flourished under the Ghaznavid kings at Lahore and had held administrative appointments under them in the Punjab. The lecture was much appreciated not only for its informative value, but also for its chaste style and beauty of diction. Some local authors took the opportunity of presenting copies of their works to the leader of the Mission, with the request that they were to be deposited in the Library of the University of Tehran. Similar presentations were made to the other members of the Mission as well. It is hoped that the visit of this Cultural Mission will appreciably contribute towards the establishment of closer relations between the scholars of India and Iran, so that each country might benefit from mutual experience.

The All-India Islamic History Conference

The second session of the All-India Islamic History Conference was held at Peshawar during the last Eastern vacation. In view of the numerous and close contact of Peshawar with the history of Islam in India, this North-Western Gateway of India was a particularly appropriate venue of the Conference. The Conference was attended by delegates and visitors from all over India besides the local intelligentsia. They were welcomed in the course of an address by the Honourable Khan Bahadur Qāzī Amīr Ahmad Khān, Judge, Judicial Court, Peshawar. The Conference was presided over by Professor Mohammad Shafī, M.A. (Cantab.), formerly Principal of the University Oriental College, Lahore. In the course of his presidential address, which was remarkable for its thoughtfulness, suggestiveness and learning, he referred to the historical importance of Peshawar and its suitability as the rendezvous of the Conference. He next made a rapid but comprehensive survey of the development of historical literature among the Muslim peoples and its characteristic features. Taking first of all the Arabs, the learned President laid stress on their deep love of historical narrative, which encouraged them to compose historical works of all kinds and led to the appearance among them of an astonishingly large number of chroniclers and historians who still excite the admiration of the learned world by their indefatigable diligence, the colossal magnitude of their compositions, the variety of their interests and their scientific temper. There was hardly any class of society or any aspect of culture which did not receive attention at their hands and was not made the subject of special historical monographs. After dealing with the Persian historians and their works, the President called attention to the importance of the works of Turkish historians and the difficulty of getting access to their books. In this connection, he deplored the fact that there were no arrangements anywhere in India for teaching the Tur-

kish language, the knowledge of which was so essential for the scientific utilization of an important branch of Islamic historical literature. He also stressed the desirability of saving historical manuscripts and documents from destruction and of collecting and preserving them in educational centres, of publishing historical texts and of providing adequate facilities for the study and teaching of Islamic history at the various Muslim educational centres.

A large number of papers were read at the Conference. They treated of different subjects connected with Islamic history and maintained a high standard of scholarship. Dr. S. M. 'Abdullāh, M.A., D. Litt., spoke on *the Manuscript Collections of the Panjab and the N.W. Frontier Province*, Mr. Mushtāq Ahmad Bhattī, M.A., on *Saif-ud-Daulah Mahmūd a great grandson of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna*, Syed Mubārīz-ud-Dīn, M.A., of Hyderabad on *the Importance of the Muslim Period of Deccan History*, Dr. G. M. D. Sūfī on *the Propagation of Islam in Kashmir*; Mr. Malik Shams, B.A., of the Lahore Museum on *the Illustration of Manuscripts under the Patronage of Akbar*, Mr. Mohammad Yūsuf Khān, B.A. (Oxon), on *Ibn-Khaldūn*, Professor M. Mūsā Kalīm of the Islamia College, Peshawar, on *the Literary and Intellectual Attainments of the Mughal Emperors*, Mr. S. M. Ja'far on *the Royal Fort of Peshawar*, Mr. Dost Mohammad Kāmīl, M.A., on *Khushhāl Khān Khattak*, and Professor Mohammad Rīzā Khān on *the Jagirdari System under the Mughals*. A number of other interesting papers were also received but could not be read for want of time.

The Conference passed a number of resolutions which it recommended to a number of Universities the creation of special chairs for the study and teaching of Islamic history, requested the Archaeological Department of India to take under its protection a number of Muslim monuments, suggested to the various Indian Universities to publish descriptive catalogues of the manuscripts in their possessions and to make arrangements for the teaching of palæography and to grant stipends to diligent and deserving students for the purpose. The Conference also urged on the Muslim University, Aligarh, and the Osmania University, Hyderabad, the necessity of compiling and publishing comprehensive and authoritative history of Islam and history of the Muslim rule in India, and to secure the co-operation of competent scholars for the purpose as early as possible.

The serious business of the Conference was duly punctuated with a number of pleasant social functions which provided the members of the Conference valuable opportunities of meeting one another in an informal way, and which at the same time helped to enhance the proverbial reputation of the Afghans for their magnanimous and lavish hospitality.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Arabo-Islamic Studies in Spain

It is gratifying to note that the Schools of Arabic Studies at Madrid and Granada, which were founded in 1933, are still flourishing and are carrying on their excellent work in the domain of Islamic studies and particularly in the field of Spanish-Arabian literature and culture, as is evidenced by the regular appearance of their combined literary organ, *al-Andalus*, and a large number of learned publications by the members of their academic staffs. *Al-Andalus* is published twice a year, and the two half-yearly fasciculæ taken together form a handsome annual volume of about 500 pages. This learned journal, which completed its VIIIth volume last year, contains original contributions of a high standard to the history, biography, literature, archæology and numismatics of Muslim Spain, and thus reflects the ceaseless activity of a large band of Spanish Orientalists, who, being fully conscious of the priceless heritage of Mediæval Spain, are zealously studying it in all its aspects and trying to bring it to the notice of the civilized world.

Among the recent publications of these schools, we may mention a critical edition of the Arabic text of Ibn al-'Arabî's *Risālat al-Quds* (Lives of Andalusian Saints), prepared by Miguel Asín, a fresh Spanish translation by Professor A. G. Palencia of Ibn-Tufail's *Risālat Hayy b. Yaqzān*, a Spanish translation by Professor E. G. Gomez of ash-Shaḡundî's *Risālat-fi-Fadl al-Andalus*, preserved by al-Maqqarî in his *Nafh-at-Tib*, and a fine study of Ibn-Zamrak, the poet of al-Hamrâ', by the same scholar.

The success of these schools and of their common literary organ, *al-Andalus*, has been mainly due to the organising capacity and inspiring leadership of Don Miguel Asín Palacios who recently retired from the post of the Director of the Madrid School at the age of seventy. It was proposed to publish a Commemorative Volume of Essays in his honour on the occasion of his retirement as a token of homage to his scholarship, but this project could not be carried out on account of the present abnormal international situation. Professor Asín has long enjoyed an international reputation as an erudite scholar who has made a special study of the religious thinkers of Muslim Spain and Mediæval Christian Europe, and who has thus thrown a flood of light on the spiritual relations of these two important cultural regions. He has written several works on the religious and philosophic conceptions of Ibn-Masarrāh, Ibn-Bājjah, Ibn-Hazm, al-Ghazzālî, Ibn-Rushd and Ibn-al-'Arabî. So far as we are aware, the only work of Asín which has up till now been translated into English is his *La Escatologia Musulmana en la Divina Comedia* (Madrid, 1919), in which he has noticed the remarkable similarity between the imagination of Dante and the Islamic ideas of the Mi'rāj, and has shown

the indebtedness of Dante to Islamic expression not only in the general conception of his work, but also in matters of detail. A brief exposition of his views on this subject was published in a previous volume of this Journal (Vol. XII, pp. 461-65). The works of Asin deserve to be better known among Indian scholars.

Don Asin has been succeeded by his former pupil, Don Emilio Garcia Gomez, who was previously at the head of the Arabic School of Granada and who has already made his mark as a distinguished Arabist in his country. Several works of great importance and scientific value stand to the credit of Professor Gomez, and we have every reason to look forward with confidence to more useful works from him in the years to come.

Arabic Studies in Italy

Some time ago, the Royal Academy of Italy organized a series of lectures on the Near East. These were subsequently published in book-form in two volumes, under the general title of *Conferenze e letture del Centro Studi per il Vicino Oriente*. The first volume contained the lectures delivered on the various countries, while the second volume, which appeared last year, contains the texts of those discourses which specifically dealt with the various aspects of Arab culture. It would be of some interest to the readers of this Journal to be furnished with the considered views and conclusions of the contemporary Italian orientalists regarding the aspects of Arab culture which they made a special study of.

The second volume of the above series which bears the title of *Caratteri e Modi della Cultura Araba* (Roma, 1943), opens with a general survey of the subject by Professor Michelangelo Guidi who briefly describes the characteristic features of Arab culture. They are in his opinion: the love of literary form, the cult of tradition, religiosity and universality, all these unified by the common denominator of a pronounced feeling for equilibrium between extreme qualities which Professor Guidi has already emphasized in his previous studies of Islamic religion.

The above-mentioned features of Arab culture are taken up successively by other contributors to the volume and are further developed by them. Signore R. A. Rossetti, for instance, discusses different aspects of Arabic poetry, principally that of the classical period, and illustrates his theme with specimen pieces and references to other cultures. In another discourse Francesco Gabrieli studies the contacts of Arabic poetry with Western literature, firstly, the influence of the popular Arabo-Andalusian poetry on Romance poetry—a problem in which he utilizes with discretion the conclusions of the famous Mediævalist, Menéndez Pidal—, and then the European reactions to Arabic poetry as represented by Goethe, Ruckert and Von Schack. Sig. M. M. Moreno offers an interesting study of Arab mysticism, deals with its origins, character-

istics and relations with orthodox Islam and gives a minute analysis of the so-called monism or Sufic pantheism. Signore F. Furlani surveys the field of Arab philosophy which in his view was only a form of Hellenized philosophy. He deals in particular with Ibn-Sinā and Ibn-Rushd, and discusses the question of the real attitude of Ibn-Rushd to the problem of the relations between philosophy and religion, a point about which there have been different interpretations in recent years. Sig. T. Sarnelli speaks of the special aptitude of the Arabs for medicine, enumerates the chief representatives of Arabian medicine, emphasizes their humanitarian spirit and defines the original element in this branch of Arab science, mentioning some very interesting discoveries in this connection. He also points out the popularity which medical science even nowadays enjoys in Arab countries. In the end, the well-known Turcologist, Ettore Rossi, gives a sketch of Arab culture among the Turks, beginning with the introduction of Arabic script, and points out the indelible marks of Arab culture which Modern Turkey still bears in spite of the advancing tide of modern nationalism.

Islamic Studies in Germany

Since the declaration of the present war between the British Empire and Germany and the consequent interruption of communications, we have been almost totally in the dark regarding the literary activities of German orientalists. It is, however, sometimes possible to obtain some interesting information about their literary labours through neutral sources. In these circumstances, we hope that the following descriptive notes on a few recent German publications will be read with interest by our readers.

The late Dr. Hans Bauer introduced in 1916 a collection of studies on Islamic ethics and translated into German in this connection three different sections of al-Ghazzālī's *Ihyā-'Ulūm ad-Dīn*: the 12th section which deals with matrimony, the 14th section which concerns in legal and illegal things and the 37th which treats of the purity and sincerity of intention. All these three parts were supplied with introductions and copious notes and comments, giving a brief history of the doctrine of each book and its influence on later moralists and ascetics. We are glad to learn that, after the death of Bauer, his useful work has been taken up by Hans Wehr, who has now given us a study of the 35th section of the *Ihyā'*, under the title of *Al-Ghazzālī's Buch vom Gottvertrauen das 35. Buch des Ihyā' Ulūm ad-Dīn* (Islamische Ethik gegr. und herausg. von Hans Bauer, Heft IV). This book deals with the subject of *Tawakkul* or the virtue of resigning and entrusting our affairs into the hands of God. Conforming to the plan and method of his learned predecessor, Wehr has produced a faithful and complete translation with copious footnotes and an introduction in which he makes a comparative study of

Tawakkul with similar ideas in other cultures, e.g., the Christian quietism of the 17th century. The introduction and notes, in which the author gives evidence of his vast erudition, are so designed as to give the maximum help to the reader to understand the ideas of al-Ghazzālī on the subject of *Tawakkul*.

Professor Ernst Kuhnel, who was the Director-General of State Museums in Germany before the outbreak of the present war and might possibly be holding the same post now and who is already familiar to us as an authority on Islamic art and archæology and as the author of several interesting and beautiful works on the subject, such as *Mimaturmalerei im Islamischen Orient* (Berlin, 2nd edition, 1923), *Maurische Kunst* (Berlin, 1924) and *Islamische Kleinkunst* (Berlin, 1925), has made a further useful contribution in the same field by the publication of a monograph on Arabic script as an element of decoration in Islamic art. The book, which is entitled *Islamische Schriftkunst* (published by Heintze & Blanckertz, Berlin-Leipzig, 1942), contains many beautiful illustrations, some of them being in colour which have been executed with marvellous technical skill. It consists of an introduction and two chapters. In the introduction the author treats of the principal types of the Arabic script: the rigid Kūfic, the round Naskhī, the oblique Ta'liq and the Maghribī script still used in the western Arabic-speaking countries. The first chapter is devoted to such fantastic forms of calligraphy as buildings, birds, human faces and other objects, all sketched by a skilful employment of the letters of alphabet, while the second chapter deals with the writing material and instruments used by the calligraphist. The text is throughout illustrated with beautiful specimens of writing on all kinds of objects: pages of the Qur'ān and other manuscripts, inscriptions on mausoleums, doors, cupolas, walls and mihrabs, vessels of crystal and glass, tapestry and other fabrics, lamps, bronzes, coins, etc., parchment or paper, stone or stucco, porcelain or glass, metal or wood. On all these various materials the Muslim artist has left the beautiful impressions of the letters of his alphabet, which lends itself so smoothly to innumerable harmonious combinations. Professor Kuhnel is not only a keen student of art, but is also an artist of fine sensibility, and has succeeded in producing a book which itself is a work of art and for which we are sincerely grateful to him.

The Late Professor Mittwoch

It is with feelings of sorrow and regret that we have to record the death of Professor Dr. Eugen Mittwoch who died last year as a refugee in England. Professor Mittwoch was a Jew and had taught Arabic for many years at the Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen, Berlin, before he became a victim of Nazi persecution and was obliged to leave his native country. In his younger days Mittwoch had studied with Theodor Noldeke (d. 1930), and had many interesting and instructive stories to tell of the per-

sonal habits and methods of work of that great Orientalist. He made his literary *debut* with a study of the *Ayyām al-‘Arab*, which appeared under the title of *Proelia Arabum Paganorum quomodo litteris tradit sint* (Berlin, 1899). He later collaborated with Professor Eduard Sachau in bringing out a critical edition of *Kitāb at-Tabaqāt* of Ibn-Sa‘d, and edited the first volume of that famous work which contained the biography of the Prophet. He also contributed a number of articles to *the Encyclopædia of Islam*. In his later years he had become specially interested in the medical literature in the Arabic language, and in fact had laid a detailed plan before the 19th Session of the International Congress of Orientalists for the preparation and publication of a Corpus of Medical Works in the Arabic Language. He does not leave behind any monumental work to perpetuate his memory, but a large number of miscellaneous writings stand to his credit. Eighty-seven different writings, besides reviews and recensions, from the pen of Mittwoch have been catalogued in a special Bibliography, prepared some years ago by his pupil, W. Gottschalk. Professor Mittwoch had an amiable disposition, and his memory will long be cherished by all those who had the privilege of knowing him personally.

Islamic Studies in England

A detailed account of Islamic studies in England and Holland has been already published in this Review in July 1943. One of the latest contributions of England to Islamic studies is the valuable work entitled "*Material for a History of Islamic Textiles up to the Mongol Conquest*" by Dr. R. B. Serjeant. This dissertation was submitted to the Cambridge University for obtaining the degree of Ph.D. and is now published in *Ars Islamica*, of Michigan University, America. Dr. R. B. Serjeant is a young Arabist of great promise. He has thoroughly studied Arabic and Persian literature for historical notes and comments on mediæval Islamic art. He has drawn upon a large number of sources, the oriental as well as the occidental for the material of this history. This work contains a good deal of new information which is not available in English, French, and German studies on Muslim textiles which are already published. It is not only a collection of material as its title suggests but a critical study systematically arranged in a kind of geographical sequence, dealing with the countries in the east and then moving to the western lands of Islam. Dr. R. B. Serjeant further informs us that he is intending to publish articles on Muslim pottery and glass planned on similar lines. We hope these works will further stand to his credit and bring to light material on Muslim minor arts which have so long remained in oblivion.

S. I.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

MODERN ISLAM IN INDIA, by Wilfrid Cantwell Smith, Minerva Book Shop Lahore, 1943, pp vi+399, price Rs 10

IT is now more than seventy years that W W Hunter wrote his book on the Indian Muslims, and from that time the interest of the average Englishman in things Indian and Islamic has comparatively been increased. There have been numerous books by American writers on Islamic literature and Islamic history, but considering the scope the book covers, Mr Smith's present work seems unique in the field. When Mr Smith came to Hyderabad a couple of years ago, he was hard at work on modern Urdu literature and it is through perseverance and study on what must have been an untrodden field to him that he has been able to master practically all that is worth a study in order to understand modern trends of the thought of the Muslims of India.

The book he has now brought out is divided into two unequal parts, the first dealing with 'Intellectuals and the Movement of Ideas' and the second on 'Politics and Organizational Movements'. In going through the ground from pre-Mutiny to the present day there is little that has not been touched and with which his point of view has not been affected, and it is this width which marks the value of the book. Each of the four chapters in the first part concludes with an estimate of the representative institution of an educational character, such

as the old Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, the Osmania University, the Jāmi'ah Milliyyah Islāmiyah and the Muslim University. On the whole his estimates of these institutions are not unjust. It must, however, be noted that some of the remarks he chooses to make are quite harsh and sometimes partially true. Thus he speaks of the Osmania University that the translations undertaken there are "plentiful, though not very good," perhaps not knowing that the recent tendency of the University to have original books compiled in Urdu which may not be 'plentiful' but which are expected to be 'very good', again about the Osmania University, he says "Recently the Urdu employed has been increasingly Persianised and Arabicised for the sake of communalism," which is just the opposite of truth. He has praised the Jāmi'ah Milliyyah and there is lot of reality in his statement that the Jāmi'ah "attempts and has seemed remarkably to achieve an integration of body and mind, and an integration of religion with modern life." About Aligarh he has a different story, for while in its early days Aligarh was full of "an exceedingly liberal and an increasingly irreligious atmosphere" and "was famous for its pro-British gentility," this feeling has given way to political and social agitation and this was superseded by "the full-blown reactionary movement."

The real meaning and the object of the author may not be gleaned till we go through the chapter headings of the work. The first chapter is called 'the Movement in favour of Contemporary British Cul-

ture' and there are discussed the works of Sir Syed Ahmad Khān and his co-adjudicators and followers, beginning with Chirāgh 'Alī, Muhsinū'l-Mulk, Hālī, Shibli and Zakāu'llāh, followed by such late authors as Salāhu'd-Dīn Khudā Bakhsh, 'Abdu'llāh Yūsuf 'Alī and Nawāb Sir Amīn Jang. Why Wiqāru'l-Mulk has been left out of the list one does not know, but if he had been included the author would have had to pause before using such sweeping remarks as "the foundation of the Reactionary Muslim League," "Bourgeois ideology and interests", "clearly he ('Abdu'llāh Yūsuf 'Alī) had never suffered from hunger, unemployment and the like", comments which do little credit to the author. He commends Shibli and Hālī and calls the band of workers gathered round Maulānā Syed Sulamān Nadwī as "exact and sober historians". Other chapter headings also speak of their contents, such as 'the Movement in favour of the Islamic Culture of the Present' with Ameer 'Alī as the outstanding personality, 'The Movement in favour of the Islamic Culture of the Future—Progressive,' with Iqbāl as the pivot, 'The Movement in favour of the Islamic Culture of the Future—Reactionary,' again with Iqbāl as the leading character, 'Introductory Essay on Communism', 'The pan-Islamic, Khilāfat and related Movements', 'Islām and Indian Nationalism', 'Islamic Nationalism—the Khāksār Movement', 'Islamic Nationalism—the Muslim League, 'Some Theological Groups'.

Mention must be made of two terms, Reactionary and Progressive, which the author has profusely used in the book. For him a 'Reactionary' means one who recognises that "his society is changing or is likely to change from its actual form to its next stage, and who reacts against that change", while by Progressive is meant "One who is in active sympathy with the change of his society from its actual form to its next due form in the progress of ameliorative evolution." The author, however, does not say who is to judge whether the progress is on the lines of *ameliorative* evolution or otherwise, the method by which it is to be decided and whether

the 'next form' is also the next 'due form'. This is the whole crux of the questions appertaining to the great social revolution which is taking place before our very eyes, questions which may be said to have, in a way, caused the present world conflagration. Any 'next form' may be dubbed 'next due form' by one group but this may well be controverted by another group. The author has not tried to hide his view that what is best for the world is rather some advanced kind of socialism, and anything which falls short of that criterion is unprogressive. Whatever his definition of 'Reactionary' may be in theory, when he comes to the actual facts concerning the Muslims of India he means by that term those who want to keep Islam intact, and whoever in modern times comes nearest to the earlier type of Islam is regarded as reactionary to the extent of his conformity. In Indian politics the author regards movements in favour of Indian National Congress as progressive and those against as reactionary.

It is a moot point whether an appeal to internationalism of some kind or other rather than to a narrow nationalism may be called reactionary. We know well that the message of early Islam was a message of organised peace to the world at large, but the author fears a conformity to that ideal the most, and that in the face of so much suffering due to an overdose of nationalism as embodied in the Nazi theory. One would think that it was high time that a more international, a more moral, appeal was made to this war-weary world of ours.

The work is the result of a deep study, though conclusions have some times been drawn from the works of a number of mediocre authors whose names may not be enumerated here but which would be found in abundance in the footnotes and the index as well as in the copious bibliography appended at the end of the book. The plan is that the author picks up a personality which he considers especially outstanding such as that of Sir Syed Ahmad Khān, Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer 'Alī, Iqbāl, Abū'l-Kalām Azād and others, regards them as leaders of a

movement and discusses the writings of authors and pamphleteers whom he regards as their followers, freely drawing conclusions from these. Some of these so-called 'followers' are not outstanding enough to warrant such a treatment. There are two fairly good essays on Iqbal, whom he calls "the outstanding Muslim poet and thinker of the century." While the 'Progressive' Iqbal is supposed to have F. K. Durrani as his follower to some extent, the thread of 'progress' meaning 'naturalism' is said to have been taken up by a number of persons like Niyaz Fathpuri, who is regarded as "somewhat similar to the earlier Aligarh group," Khwaja Ghulam Sayyidain (whose educational ideas are discussed at length) and Abu'l-Kalam Azad, on the other hand the lectures of Iqbal the Reactionary "on the reconstruction of thought in Islam" are regarded as "excellent," though the last lecture is "the least good," while the 'reactionary' i.e., Islamic aspect of his poetry is considered as thoroughly Utopian and impractical. Then come those who are regarded as Reactionary Iqbal's satellites and here we find Muhammad Asad, Leopold Weiss, and Syed Abu'l A'la Maududi. In the same way Rt. Hon. Ameer 'Ali finds Salahu'd-Din Khuda Bakhsh, Nafisu'd-Din Ahmad (out of whose writings much capital has been made), Mushir Husain Qidwai, Sarwar, Zaidi and the rest as his followers.

The author's style is interesting but becomes at times rather heavy. The book is full of sarcastic remarks scattered here and there which are bound to make an impression on the uninitiated. To quote just a few: "In the Universities even where they teem with Muslim religious fervor the number of students reading theology, Arabic, etc. has recently been the same as the number of scholarships in these subjects," "Muslim communalists pay little attention to whether the individuals are religiously ardent, tepid or cold; orthodox, liberal, atheist; righteous or vicious," "To explain, to write commentaries on, and to 'follow,' Iqbal became almost a major profession in Indian Islam;" "As fast as European scholars uncover the history of the period,

and endeavour to give its due place in the story of civilization and progress, the highlights are displayed to the advantage of Islam," and so on. Little comment is needed to remarks of this genre. Apart from these there are a number of unwarranted statements interspersed throughout. Thus: "Muslims will allow attacks on Allah but to disparage Muhammad will provoke even from the most liberal (sic) sections of the community a fanaticism of blazing vengeance," "Iqbal made God immanent, not transcendent. In Islam it is rank heresy, but for today it is the only solution."

As has been said above, there is real research and genuine hard work behind Mr. Smith's book, but the sectarian and at times unjust viewpoint, has marred some of the conclusions arrived at. Some of the essays which form a part of the book, such as those on Communalism, the Khilafat Movement and on Iqbal are brilliant performances. It is more so as they come from the pen of a non-Indian and a non-Muslim, and however we may differ from the purely subjective opinions of the author, the work should be read by every student of the present day tendencies of Islam in India.

H. K. S.

THE PRESENT CRISIS IN ISLAM AND OUR FUTURE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME, by M. Fazlur-Rahman, cr. 8vo, pp. VIII + 77, obtainable from the Aligarh Books and Newspapers Agency, Muslim University, Aligarh.

IN the Karachi (1943) Session of the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah had emphasised the necessity of planning a national system of Muslim education. In response to the call, many minds are engaged on the problem.

The author's interesting thesis consists in —

(a) A graduated course of Islamica, including the Arabic language

(b) The creation of a Muslim background and the evolution of a Muslim viewpoint in all the subjects taught, in the measure necessary and possible in the different stages of the growth of our education under the new scheme

The author suggests a Research Centre in order —

a To evolve a religious philosophy of Islam for giving a new orientation to the basis of our present intellectual life, and

b To formulate the Islamic solution of the various social, economic, political and ethical problems which afflict humanity today

Finally he gives a detailed course of studies from the primary stage onwards

The brochure is an interesting and thought-provoking study

ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY IN THE MODERN WORLD, by M. Fazlur-Rahman, cr 8vo, pp 250, supplied free to Christians in India on payment of postage As 8, by the Aligarh Book and Newspapers Agency, Muslim University, Aligarh

THE author has done much missionary work in Singapore and elsewhere.

He has collected a large material about the defects of the official Christianity (as distinguished from the one preached by Jesus Christ, Peace be upon him!) The glass-chamber of the Christian missionaries has now been discovered by our author, and the stones pelted by them on the peaceful home of Islam can be returned with greater effect.

According to the researches of the author, the present official Christianity is nothing but the pagan sun-worship of the Mediterranean basin, plagiarised by the fathers of the Christendom for satisfying the paganistic tendencies of the people and the pure monotheism preached by Jesus Christ (peace be upon him!) was defeated in, and vanished from, the West in the very early centuries.

Hence the need of a restatement of the Religion of God, Islam.

Certainly it would be more appealing if, by a labour of love, true and original Christianity is unearthed from Christian sources themselves and compared with Islamic teaching. Yet for cruder die-hards perhaps it is necessary to bring into relief harder facts, which our author has been forced to do.

M H

ANNEXATION OF BURMA, by Anil Chandra Banerjee, M A, Premchand Roychand Scholar, Lecturer in History, Calcutta University, published by A Mukerjee & Brothers, 2, College Square, Calcutta

IN this book the author has traced the British policy towards Burma which culminated in the annexation of this country. It was during Lord Amherst's Governor-Generalship that the Burmese Government was involved in a dispute with the British Government which developed into a war. The uniform success of the Burmese General in the latter part of the eighteenth century in consolidating their authority in Assam turned them arrogant. At one time they even thought of marching to Calcutta. Naturally, the British Government did not relish the aggressive designs of the Burmese Government.

The Arakan Governor's claim that the island of Shahpur belonged to the Burmese Government was disputed by the British Government. The Burmese troops, however, occupied the island. Lord Amherst tried his best to reach an amicable settlement but failed. Further correspondence on the subject resulted in an open declaration of war on the 24th February, 1824. After a protracted war the Burmese king was compelled to sign the Treaty of Yandabo. According to this Treaty the Burmese Government agreed to cede to the English the provinces of Arakan and Tenasserin, which gave the British command of the Bay of Bengal. The Burmese Government definitely renounced

all claims to Assam and the principalities of Cachar Jaintia and Manipur and agreed to pay an indemnity of a crore of rupees. Some advantages to British merchants resident in Burma were also secured. Article 7 of the Treaty provided that a British Resident was to reside at the Burmese Durbar, an undertaking to which the Burmese Government agreed very reluctantly. The author has given very useful details about this in the chapter entitled "Residency in Burma" which is based on original materials.

The second Burmese war arose out of the determination of Lord Dalhousie to compel the Burmese Government to respect and carry out treaty obligation. Military and naval operations were ordered by the Government of India which resulted in the annexation of Regn. No Treaty was insisted upon as Dalhousie seemed to be content with the tacit acquiescence of the King of Burma. In 1862, the Province of Lower Burma was formed, with Sir Arthur Phayre as Chief Commissioner.

During the reign of King Thibaw matters were again brought to a crisis towards the close of 1885, when the Burmese Government favoured the French and imposed a heavy fine on the Bombay Burma Trading Company. As the Burmese king refused to comply with the demands put forward by the Government of India war was declared. The British forces occupied Mandalay. King Thibaw was sent down to Ratnagiri on the Bombay coast and Upper Burma was formally declared annexed on the 1st January, 1886. It took nearly four years for the British to restore order in the country.

The book makes an interesting reading. The author has copiously made use of the unpublished documents preserved in the Record's Office of the Government of India. The book would have become even more authoritative if the author had made greater use of the contemporary Burmese and Assamese chronicles and documents. Different campaigns are well illustrated with maps which incidentally throw much light on the recent opera-

tions of war in Burma against the Japanese menace to India.

Y H

THE EASTERN FRONTIER OF BRITISH INDIA, by Anil Chandra Banerjee, M.A., published by A. Mukerjee & Brothers, 2, College Square, Calcutta

IN the later part of the eighteenth century Assam was subject to utter anarchy and misrule. Lord Cornwallis, the then Governor-General of India, felt that the British Government could not remain a mere spectator of the terrible civil feuds in Assam. The Governor-General "advised as well from motives of humanity as from a wish to be better informed of the interior State of Assam, its commerce, etc.," decided to send Captain Welsh with 360 sepoys. The captain was directed to try to compose the disturbances in Assam and to regard the personal safety of the ruler of the country as one of his primary objects. But strangely enough the captain who was sent to Assam to protect the king became an arbiter of Assam's destiny and arrogated to himself the responsibility for the internal administration of the country.

In the second and third chapters of the book the author has given a detailed account regarding the dispute on the Arakan Frontier (1785-1795), the commercial missions to Burma (1745-1748) and the part played by Captain Symes as the chief agent of the British Government. Then in the later chapters the author discusses the policy of Lord Amherst the First Burmese War and the Anglo-Burman Treaties of 1826.

This book is certainly a valuable contribution to the problem of the Eastern Frontier of India. The appendices and the bibliography eminently add to the utility as a constructive scholarly work.

Y. H.

NOTICE.

All manuscripts, letters, etc., meant for the Editor, should be addressed to the Secretary, Editorial Board, and business correspondence to the Manager, ISLAMIC CULTURE, Hyderabad, Deccan.

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